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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Organization and Experience: A Sociological Analysis of an Amateur Sport Organization

by

© Robert Pitter

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Master of Arts

Department of Physical Education and Sport Studies

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Spring 1987

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To speak of a certain government and establishment institution as the *system* is to speak correctly. . . . They are sustained by structural relationships even when they have lost all other meaning and purpose. People arrive at a factory and perform a totally meaningless task from eight to five without question because the structure demands it and no one is willing to take on the formidable task of changing the structure just because it is meaningless.

But to tear down a factory or to revolt against a government . . . because it is a system is to attack effects rather than causes; and as long as the attack is upon effects only, no change is possible.

The true system, the real system is our present construction of systemic thought itself, rationality itself, if a factory is torn down and the rationality which produced it is left standing, then that rationality will simply produce another factory. If a revolution destroys a systemic government but the systemic patterns of thought that produced that government are left intact, then those patterns will repeat themselves in the succeeding government. **There's so much talk about the system. And so little understanding.**

—ROBERT M. PIRSIG.

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Organization and Experience: A Sociological Analysis of an Amateur Sport Organization submitted by Robert Pitter in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

.....

Supervisor

.....

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Date.....Feb 17, 1987.....

DEDICATION

To John, Nancy, and Donna.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the experience of membership within an amateur sport organization. In this investigation three sub-problem areas were addressed. These sub-problem areas were as follows:

1. To investigate the effects of the design and execution of tasks within a sport organization, on the individual's experience of being involved with sport.
2. To investigate the effects of systems of hierarchy and control within a sport organization, on the individual's experience of being involved with sport.
3. To investigate the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within a sport organization.

The data used in this study were produced through interviews with 15 members of an amateur sport organization. Additional information was gathered by examining organizational documents and by observing members of the organization during their involvement in its activities. A conceptual framework based on the literature was used to analyze the content of the data.

The findings of this study indicated that within this organization, an assumption that the membership of the organization was committed to the pursuit of high calibre performance, influenced the design and execution of tasks. A great emphasis was placed on tasks that were directly related to the training and competitive activities of the athlete members. The design and execution of the tasks of training and competing were also found to exhibit a degree of specialization, routinization, and close supervision characteristic of work organizations.

There was no formal or extensive hierarchy within the organization and control was centralized. With regard to interpersonal relationships, coaches exerted a large degree of control over the design and execution of the athletes' training programs. At the level of the organization itself, one individual in particular was able to exert a large span of control over the rules and resources within the organization. This individual's control was traced to his ability to access resources that were essential to the operation of the organization.

Values and ideas concerning the program focus of the organization, and associated norms, had an impact on the organization's structuring over time. To be specific, the organization was transforming from one in which its traditional developmental values were being pushed aside by values which focused on high performance sport. The membership of the organization had not been able to resolve the problems associated with these competing values.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of the organization which was studied for their cooperation and willingness to grant me permission to examine their documents and allow me to write about their activities. In particular I would like to thank all those members who agreed to be interviewed.

For their contribution to the various stages which occurred during the genesis of this project I would like thank my committee members Dr. Ann Hall and Royston Greenwood. Also in this regard I am particularly appreciative of the efforts of my advisor Dr. Slack who in numerous ways contributed to this project.

Without the support of my mother, who was often prepared to offer more than she could be expected to give, the completion of this research would never have been possible. I am most grateful to her drive, determination, and financial assistance along the path to completing this project.

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Chapter I

Setting the Stage: Isolating the Issues and Developing a Mode of Inquiry for a Sociological Study of Voluntary Sport Organizations

A. Introduction

> If participation in sport is to be as self-liberating as many physical educators, myself included, believe it can be, participants must be able not only to determine their own level of involvement, but also to share in the process by which the very *meaning* of sport is elaborated (Kidd, 1981:239).

The practice of sporting[1] activities touches individuals in many ways throughout their daily lives. For many individuals sporting experiences begin during childhood. Games are passed down by generations of children playing in suburban and city streets, open fields and parks. As they progress through school, children are exposed to more formal and rigid ways of playing, in the form of sport, in their physical education classes and through inter- and intra-scholastic athletic programs. Simultaneously, both adults and children alike are bombarded by images of sport transmitted by the media. They are encouraged to join with thousands of others in the viewing of sport spectacles; either indirectly through television or directly by occupying a seat amongst thousands of spectators in the stadiums where these events take place. Sport's significance to social life does not rest in the mere fact that it has become a predominant focus of both public and personal energy and attention but, rather in the fact that sport is a meaningful feature of cultural activity and as such is involved in the production and reproduction of society.

---

[1] As a matter of clarification it is perhaps necessary to make some remarks concerning the definition of sport. As Gruneau (1983: 159) observes in a footnote with regard to this matter, there is considerable debate surrounding the definition of sport and the degree of overlap between play, games, and sport. Like Gruneau I believe that arguing over this matter misses an important point. "Play, games and sport are not abstract 'things' to be concretely defined; rather they are complex processes and relationships that can never be adequately encapsulated into rigid definitional schemes or formulas". Thus, throughout my discussion sport, in keeping with the context being examined here, should be interpreted in its broadest sense. As such play and games, although they are not synonomous with sport can be seen as elements of sport.

Sport historians have clearly illustrated that modern sport in the western world developed from "casual spontaneous and loosely organized contests" which were "gradually transformed into formal games with widely accepted written rules, regularly scheduled games, and regulatory organizations" (Kidd 1979: 26). In an effort to probe the causes underlying the development of sport and the significance of this development to the whole of society a group of sociologists (Beamish, Gruneau, Helmes, and Kidd to name a few) have argued quite correctly that sports have not "emerged" naturally out of social interactions but are in fact "activities that people 'produce' in different forms out of the stuff of everyday experience" (Gruneau 1983: 55). This "stuff" out of which sport and other cultural activities are produced is shaped by the meanings, and ordering of the world that arises out of productive activity. Consequently, sports and other cultural activities such as dance, sculpting, etc., embody within them meanings and reflections of the ordering of the world that arise out of the social labour process[2].

In Canadian society, sporting activities have evolved through the collective effort of the numerous individuals who make up our national, provincial, and municipal sport organizations. In many ways these organizations play an active role in overseeing the development of sport. However, since the meaning of sport arises out of conditions directly encountered, given and transmitted through the past production and/or reproduction of society, the individuals who comprise sport organizations do not make or determine sporting practices in a way that is completely at their discretion. Sport scholars who support a materialist view of society (cf. Beamish (1981 (a) & (b), 1983), Gruneau (1983), and Kidd (1979)) have shown that factors such as the relationship between classes, economic development, and political ideology have all shaped the development of sport and sport organizations in Canada. Gruneau (1983) has examined these factors in terms of whether or not they enable or constrain human agents, to "structure" sports in certain ways and to contour the range of meanings associated with sport. His work clarifies how the "limits"

[2] What I am sketching out here very briefly can be referred to as a materialist position. The ideas which I am trying to put forward are contained in discussions in the work of Kidd (1979) Beamish (1981(a) & (b), 1982, 1985) and Gruneau (1983).

(what is not possible) and "possibilities" (what is possible) confronting people involved with sport are linked to broader social issues; such as class differences, gender, race,ethnicity and unequal access to social resources. Gruneau concluded

> that the dominant moment in Canadian sport is composed primarily of a rather limited set of class practices and beliefs. . . . it appears to have been various fragments of the Canadian bourgoisie that have either created or controlled the structuring of sport and have contoured its 'official' meanings (1983: 144).

This conclusion suggests that the great majority of Canadians have not been able to share in the process through which the very meaning of sport is elaborated and yet at the same time these people retain their attraction to sport by virtue of a belief in sport's capacity to deliver a metamorphoric sense of freedom and mastery over themselves and over nature.

Thus, if one accepts Gruneau's argument, sport appears to be in a paradoxical position in Canadian life [3]. People seek out a sense of personal freedom and mastery through sport while allowing themselves to be bound by structures which they had no active part in developing; structures which may infact embody meanings that directly contradict the aims they wish to realize through sport. This seeming contradiction raises an important question concerning the future development of sport. Since most people who enjoy sport look to it as a means through which to experience a sense of freedom and personal mastery over one's self and over nature we must ask ourselves if trends in the development of sport and the organizations that deliver it are increasing or decreasing the possibilities for people to realize the fundamental freedom they associate with sport.

Gruneau touches on this question in a broad sense. He asks if people must always voluntarily undertake or implement the structural conditions which reproduce capitalist and patriarchial relations which constrain human possibilities in very significant ways. Responding to this in terms of the relationship between sport and social structure Gruneau (1983: 152) suggests that sport always possesses the threat of breaking away from social reproduction and being transformed because "human desires for fun and fantasy are a shaky foundation for hegemony". This conclusion is very reassuring to those of us who value sport as a

[3]For a more complete discussion of the notion of sport as a paradox see Gruneau (1983) Chapter 2 "Problems of Agency and Freedom in Play Games and Sport".

self-liberating activity. However, as Gruneau himself notes, oppositional ways of playing and structuring sports have not had much transformative consequence. They have lost in their struggles to become entrenched in the dominant moment of sport. This failure, writes Gruneau, is due to the fact that reforms in sport have not been tied to broader visions and theories about the optimal expression of equity and freedom in society at large. Sociologists could contribute to this struggle by helping to clarify the relationships between sports, human freedom, and constraint.

In as much as I share the view of sport put forward by materialist scholars in the field of the sociology of sport I maintain that there is a need to clarify, at the level of sport organizations themselves, the relationships between sports, human freedom, and constraint. There is a need to understand the processes that shape the structure of sport and sport organizations and in turn a need to illustrate the way in which these structures have effected certain limits and possibilities for people who participate in sport.

In this introductory chapter I will proceed to illustrate the intersection between the meanings associated with sport, social structure, some of the systems characteristic of sport organizations in North America, and the limits and possibilities faced by sport participants. That discussion will be followed by a brief overview and critique of inquiries into voluntary sport organizations. I will then suggest that there is a need for a specific type of approach when undertaking an investigation of the type I am proposing and the elements of this approach will be put forward. These elements will be used to form the basis of the central problem with which this study is concerned.

B. Social Organization and Sport Experiences

> Sociological questions are motivated by an interest in looking beyond the commonly accepted, or officially defined, descriptions and explanations of human action. . . .
>
> Sociology also includes the basic recognition that *personal troubles* individuals experience in specific milieux, are often caused by social structural changes (Gruneau, 1976(a): 10, emphasis in original).

It was C. Wright Mills (1980) who originally wrote that the ability to distinguish between the "*personal troubles* of milieux" and the "public issues of social structure" is an

essential tool of the sociological imagination. Mills stressed the relevance and importance of personal biography to understanding the relevance of social inquiry. The nature and focus of this particular inquiry supports Mills' insight in as much as my personal interest in sport organizations has emerged out of the personal troubles experienced by myself and other sport participants who are members of the wide variety of agencies that preside over amateur sport in Canada.

Having been involved with sport for almost twenty years I have observed a number of changes in the meanings and definitions associated with sport and the organizational bodies which institutionalize sporting practices. Using Mills' insight as a point of departure I shall argue that understanding sports and sport organizations in terms of their public and private meanings is essential to comprehending the processes that shape the design of sport and sport organizations.

Linking the *personal* to the *public* implies a basic recognition of the dialectic and recursive relationship between the subjective experience of individual human agents and the objects (in this context the social relationships that encompass sport) of human praxis. One method of grasping the interconnectedness of these elements involves considering the history and changing nature of a person's ordering of the meanings associated with sport in conjunction with the objective social relations that influence that meaning and the personal troubles that are felt or expressed as a result of the embodiment of a particular meaning in a specific social system or institution. The autobigraphical accounts of two well known sports figures can be used to throw some light upon this interconnectedness[4]

Dryden's (1984) description of his early experiences with hockey expresses the meaning which was characteristic of an aspect of Canadian cultural life which, for a period of history, was shared by every young *boy* growing up in Canada. A distance of ten years and perhaps six to ten miles separated my own childhood experiences from those of Dryden's. Despite this distinction, his descriptions of the atmosphere surrounding his personal

[4] The examples used here are taken from male experiences and may for this and other reasons be biased. This does not however, reduce their explanatory value as examples although it does limit the sorts of gereralizations that can be made about shared meanings of sport.

experiences in sport elicits very vivid memories of my own, and perhaps captures the feelings characteristic of the majority of boys "who grew up with sport". The slang terms used to describe various behaviors, the equipment and even the games which were invented to heighten the challenge and excitement of sport reflect those of my own experiences. Describing the experiences of playing hockey in Canada as a youngster Dryden wrote,

> We played "ball hockey" mostly with a tennis ball, its bounce deadened by the cold. A few times, we got out the garden hose and flooded the backyard to use skates and pucks, but the big end was slightly lower than the little end, and the water pooled and froze unevenly. More importantly, we found the more literal we tried to make our games, the less lifelike they became. We could move across the asphalt quickly and with great agility in rubber 'billy' boots; we could shoot a tennis ball high and hard. But with skates on, with a puck, we were just kids. So . . . we played only ball hockey (1984: 55).

From his account of his boyhood experiences it seems that Dryden's attraction and fascination with hockey and other sports did not go beyond a desire to experience and feel a certain sense of self-mastery and power; however, for myself and others living in a somewhat different social time-frame, a time-frame where great attention was placed on sport in general, the attraction went beyond this [5]. From my own personal point of view as a youth, success at sport provided a means by which I could be socially accepted by my peer group. For other individuals growing up then it may have meant other things. The point I am making here is that the initial attraction to sport may in fact be the sense of freedom and power that it provides in an individual or private sense. However, as social relationships come into play and as sport becomes a public or social activity, its meaning may change and/or become augmented. A comment from former professional basketball player Bill Russell's autobiography emphasizes this point. Speaking about the effects of moving from college basketball to professional basketball Russell wrote,

> . . . I remember that the game lost some of its magical qualities once I thought

[5] I am suggesting that, historically, the meanings associated with sport and the objectives of individuals involved with sport have changed as result of a number of factors including: the increased exposure to sport via televison, which has taken place over the past three decades; the increase in the number of opportunities associated with sport, in terms of the expansion of professional leagues which has resulted in increased employment opportunities in sport; and the Canadian state's active intervention into sport and propagation of the idea that sport is an important means of cultural expression.

> seriously about playing for a living. This first happened in 1955, in my junior year, after USF won the NCAA national championship. As a result I played with the idea of turning professional, and things began to change. Whenever I walked on the court I began to calculate how this particular game might affect my future. Thoughts of money and prestige crept into my head. Over the years the professional game would turn into a business. When you play for money you're concerned with using the old skills you can count on, instead of the new ones that might light on your shoulder that night. You concentrate on the hard, proven coinage that you've minted in the past and begin to ease the sense of discovery and fun that first attracted you to the game (1979: 87).

Both Dryden and Russell through their descriptions of growing up with sport emphasize that their initial attraction to sport was elicited by sport's "magical" quality. Neither thought about sport beyond their own personal and immediate, concrete or objective, involvement. As they grew older the character of this involvement, the meaning of sport, slowly transformed. As Russell indicates above, the growing awareness of the possibility of maintaining his livelihood playing basketball —which progressed as he moved through different levels of involvement— and the actual realization of it transformed his feelings. At the amateur level the growing popularity of sport with the state and the increasing amount of resources that have been put into it have had similar consequences. At the level of broad social relationships, people have become more aware of a number of social possibilities that have been increasingly associated wtih sport. The chance of becoming a professional athlete is one such possibility. Other opportunities that might be gained through sport at the amateur level include the possibility of extensive travel, commercial endorsements, access to higher education, influential contacts in business and politics, prestige, and status.

Historically, amateur sport organizations have provided and continue to provide the overwhelming majority of opportunities to pursue organized sport and the social opportunities associated with it. Individuals participating in sport during the era of Dryden's and Russell's involvement did not become aware of the possibilities that might arise from their involvement until the very latter part of their youth. Nowadays, as has been indicated by my own experiences as a coach and as a participant, young athletes are being made aware of these possibilities at a relatively earlier times during their involvement. In 1974 Aronowitz focused on the significance that this increased awareness has had on the meaning of sport and he made a statement that in someways reflects my own personal attitude as a youngster. He

wrote:

> By the time a student reaches high school sport is no longer regarded in terms of the joy of playing for itself; *it becomes a means to gain admittance to college* or in many cases a steppingstone towards professional leagues. *Working class students, particularly Blacks, regard sport as a chance to transcend their class- and race-determined occupational expectations. For them sports becomes "serious business" that may spell the difference between having to work in a factory or an office after graduation from high school or a profession.* It does not matter that only a minority of the youths who try out for school teams achieve their aspirations; what counts is the motivation that brings them to competition in the first place (1974: 68-69, emphasis added).

Thus even for those individuals who may not aspire to become professional athletes there are other social aspirations that stimulate one's attraction to sport. In terms of the feelings and perceptions of sport I held as a high school student, Aronowitz's statement is indicative of my viewpoint at the very time it was written.

Since the time Aronowitz made his observations sport and society have continued to transform. For the many people who regarded sport as their chance to transcend their social class there has been grave disappointment. Many obscured limitations have revealed how extremely fleeting the actual realization of the possibilities associated with sport can be[4]. The increased popularity of sport has opened up a number of possibilities and opportunities for those participating in sport at a high level either as professionals, through the benefit of a higher than average income, or as amateurs through state grants in aid, athletic scholarships, opportunites to endorse consumer goods in exchange for some material gain, etc. However, as has been pointed out by Beamish (1983), Gruneau (1976 (b)) and Hollands and Gruneau (1979), features such as socioeconomic class, status, and gender can severely hinder one's ability to realize these opportunities. With particular reference to amateur sport, these authors have argued that the social strata that have made up the provincial and national executives of amateur sport have had the power to structure sport in a way of their own choosing and to pursue a particular meaning or view of sport that is not necessarily shared by others; a view which, for example, hinders sport participants from the lower classes and of the female gender.

---

[4]Refer to Michener (1976) for an account of how difficult it actually is to "make it" into professional sport.

Having illustrated the interconnectedness between meanings and the objects created by human action. I would like to explore this interconnectedness further in terms of the recursive dialectic between agents and structures. The relationship between this recursive dialectic and human freedom in its broadest sense raises an number of important issues for investigation. To do this I must turn the discussion of the meanings associated with sport to an important feature of sport as a cultural process. This feature is "that sport as a cultural activity has two moments to it. The first is the concrete labour of the athlete per se and the second is the relation of that concrete activity to the context in which it occurs" (Beamish 1982:172). This is not to say that these moments are distinct from each other. Treating them as distinct serves only to facilitate the clarification of the recursive dialectic between agents and structures and its relationship to human freedom.

The first moment, that of concrete activity, is private. It encompasses that sense of self-mastery and power that has been continually associated with play and sport. In this sense sport can be seen as being free in as much as labour or activity which allows human agents a capacity for change and self-change is free (Gould 1981: 116). Thus were it possible to regard sport in purely a *private* sense one would expect the meaning of sport to be such that sport is perceived as an opportunity to experience self-mastery and power. The images generated by Dryden's and Russell's accounts of their sport experiences as youngsters capture the nature of this moment. Dryden speaks of the "private" both with regards to playing by himself and with others. Of his experiences in solitude Dryden wrote:

> But the backyard meant time alone. It was usually after dinner when the "big guys" had homework to do and I would turn on the flood lights at either end of the house and on the porch, and play. It was a private game. I would stand alone in the middle of the yard, a stick in my hands a tennis ball in front of me, silent still then suddenly dash ahead furiously, dodging invisible obstacles for a shot on net. It was Maple Leaf Gardens filled to wildly cheering capacity, a tie game, seconds remaining. I was Frank Mahovlich, or Gordie Howe, I was anyone I wanted to be and the voice in my head was that of Leafs broadcaster Foster Hewitt: " . . . there's ten seconds left, Mahovlich winding up at his own line, at center, eight seconds, seven, over the blue line, six— he winds up, he shoots *he scores!*" . . . I screamed a scream inside my head, and collected my ball to do it all again— many times, for many minutes I was the hero of my own games (1984: 56).

The second moment, that of the relation of concrete activity to the social whole, is public in as much as sport is a social activity that is embeded in society. Since sport is

intertwined with social relations the "social actors in sports and games are bearers of other social relations and ideas" outside of sport (Beamish 1982: 174). These ideas and relations are brought to bear on sports and create what we can refer to as socially constructed meanings of sport. These meanings provide the initiative which motivates human agents to create institutional social systems such as sport organizations that make the realization of these meanings and the future development of new meanings possible. However, within the multiplicity of socially constructed meanings that exist, contradictions and paradoxes emerge. Privately, people seek out a sense of freedom, self-mastery, sponteneity, and power through sport. Publicly, through the social relationships that are produced to make sport possible, sport is defined or structured through numerous rules and regulations and organizations which are for some people oppositional to the sense of freedom, self-mastery, and sponteneity which they pursued through sport.

Russell's comments about the differences between the sport experiences he had as youngster and those of children growing up with sport in todays' society describes this second moment and its impact on the first. Russell observed:

> The trend in modern sports is towards more organization and "meaning", especially for those people who don't play themselves. . . . I remember going out to a little league game in 1964, when my seven year old son was thinking about playing. I was horrified by what I saw. . . . The Kids were pawns. . . . The players themselves had little chance to be kids, they were so organized, pressurized and regimented by non players that their imaginations were stunted. They couldn't experiment and innovate, goof off and try new things, or develop a sense of themselves as craftsmen.
>
> . . . Part of my aversion to organization comes from my own childhood experience. When I grew up there weren't many basketball teams or coaches around almost everything about sport was unorganized. There was a lot of play in the strict sense of the word. We tried on our own to find what was fun and what worked. My own basketball confidence came to me long before I received any serious coaching, and it paid off later when I took the game up as a profession. The accomplishments I am most proud of are the innovations I helped introduce in the way the game is played. . . . I don't think I would have come up with such innovations if I'd grown up playing the way the little league baseball is today (1979: 112-113).

There is a complexity that emerges from the intersection of the public and the private. This complexity produces a multiplicity of meanings that can be associated with sport. Aronowitz's comments reflect one set of social meanings characteristic of sport within capitalist social relations today, and certainly others exist. Russell's observations represent an example of how

social meanings may limit the realization of private ones. The fact that there is a multiplicity of social meanings, which emerge from social interaction and the course of human history, raises questions which concern how differing meanings promote various sorts of structures and the amount of freedom that is facilitated by a given structure.

An example of the impact of meaning on structure and structure on freedom can be taken from a brief anecdote of my personal involvement with sport. I was involved in a sports club where a major conflict emerged. This conflict grew out of a disagreement over the manner in which its resources should be managed and distributed. This conflict was fueled by differences in the meanings associated with sport held by club members and their feelings about the way in which the club should have been organized to instill these meanings. Two positions were established. On one side stood those individuals who were dedicated to excellence in high performance sport. These individuals felt very strongly that the club's resources should be used solely for purposes immediately relevant to producing world champions. On the other side were individuals who, while they agreed that excellence was a worthwhile goal, recognized that not everyone in the club aspired to become, or were even capable of becoming, world champions. They believed that since these individuals had contributed just as much to the club in terms of resources they were entitled to an equal share. It was their opinion that the club should provide its members with equal access to its resources and provide and fund opportunities for members to meet in an informal social setting to exchange stories about their experiences in sport, even though this type of activity was not related to enhancing athletic performance.

The individuals who pushed for an equitable distribution of club resources were overruled. They responded by withdrawing from the club and forming a new organization which embodied the meaning of sport they wished to promote. Those who struggled for an organization that emphasized a self-liberating form of track and field were overcome by those who pushed for a track and field organization with an exclusive focus on the elite. Those individuals who did not favor an elite focus found it impossible to engage in the types of activities they believed were worthwhile and should be associated with sport. In order to bring

about the type of organization they envisioned, they chose to accept their defeat and leave the club and form their own organization.

The significance of those events to sport in general are admittedly minor. Yet, they further illustrate the intersection between human freedom, meaning and the choices individuals make with regard to the structuring of social interaction. They indicate that there is a relationship between how sports are organized and the meanings agents bring to the sporting milieu, as well as the fact that limits and pressures motivate human choices. Organizational theorists, (cf. Hinings and Greenwood, 1985; Miles and Snow, 1978; Miller and Friesen, 1980 (a) & (b); and Mintzberg, 1979.) have illustrated that the characteristics of the structural arrangements of organizations often reflect the meanings held by organizational members. These structural characteristics also limit and/or promote the existence of certain types of activities and behaviors engaged in by organizational members. Social theorists such as Giddens (1973, 1979), Lukes (1977), and Silverman (1974) maintain that change or the development of social organizations is best understood as a consequence of a dialectic and recursive relationship between agency (in terms of values or meanings agents attach to a specific practice and reflect upon) and structure (in terms of the limits and possibilities that are available to agents). Gruneau (1983), while elaborating upon the social theories developed by Lukes and Giddens, makes it clear that if one wishes to understand the development of sport and society one needs to discover the processes that underly the structuring of the sporting milieu and the sorts of limits that this structuring brings to bear on individuals involved with sport. Furthermore, in as much as sport is part of a larger social structure it is also important to understand the ways in which sport has developed as a consequence of the limits and possibilities brought to bear on it by larger social structures which encompass it.

Gruneau (1983:141) writes that "All of us may seek out practical mastery, fun, excitement, or fantasy in play and it is important to elucidate the formal properties of the practices that enable us to carry out this search in a free and creative way". Recognizing this fact has lead Gruneau, and others like myself, to ask a number of questions that need to be extensively researched and debated by sociologists working towards developing a critical theory

of sport. These questions concern, to use the words of Gruneau,

> . . . whether the structures that are supposedly created to accomplish this search [for practical mastery, etc,] do not in some way alter our goals and carry with them a number of consequences for freedom viewed in the broadest terms. In a society of unequally shared resources and of noteable conflicts of interest, is it not plausable that the opening up of options for some people through a particular type of structuring actually implies or symbolizes the limiting of options for others? Can we say, to use a more concrete example, that opportunities to create rules, to define the dominant meanings of sports and to compete and succeed within different definitions have been universally accessible? Can we assert that sports, structured in different ways, have never embodied or offered representations of allocative and regulative rules of societies in a way that can be implicated in the domination of certain groups in these or in other societies? (1983: 141)

These points suggest that there is a need to discover how, within sport organizations, certain meanings gain acceptance to the exclusion of others and the ways in which these meanings once embodied in these social structures make certain types of practices possible and others difficult if not impossible. Focusing on these areas involves linking the interaction of the meanings, values and beliefs held by human agents with social transformation and the transformation of sport organizations themselves. Understanding sport in this way would, as Gruneau (1983) suggests, provide answers to questions about the nature of freedom created by the structures of sport organizations and the social significance of the "freedoms" that are found. The achievement of such an understanding of sport will most certainly entail a lengthy period of extensive data collection and analysis which must focus on a number of complex elements that influence the development of social history. The purpose of the investigation that has been undertaken here is to contribute to the continuing development of an understanding of sport and society. This may be accomplished by discovering what meanings dominate and have been embodied in the design of a specific sport organization and the impact, in terms of the limits and possibilities, that this design has had on individuals that participate in this organization.

C. A Brief Overview of Inquiries into Voluntary Sport Organizations: Practical and Theoretical Problems

Slack's (1983) review of research on voluntary organizations indicates that there is a lack of research that has focused on sport organizations. It also indicates that none of the

major research done previous to his thesis took up the task of explaining or examining the relationship between the structure of sport organizations and the experience of sport. Slack notes that major research studies in this field have focused on three areas: i) typologies, ii) rates of participation, and iii) the social characterstics of volunteers (Slack 1983: 6-12)[7]. Within these three areas most of the research that has focused on voluntary sport organizations has been concerned with investigating the social characteristics of the administrators of this group. Slack pointed out that, "rarely has any theoretical explanation been offered for the results that were found" (1983: 12).

In addition to Slack the only exceptions to this lack of theoretical work are to be found in the research of Beamish (1978, 1983) and Hollands and Gruneau (1979). In their studies these authors have attempted to supplement data on the social charactersitics of volunteer amateur sport administrators with a theoretical explanation of why the trends that they discovered persisted. These explanations, however, tend to focus on very broad macro social theories that link inequalities in the class structure of society at large to the social characteristics of the executives of voluntary sport associations. These researchers do not explicitly offer any explanation of the implications that the social characteristics of these executives may have on the limits and possibilities provided by sport organizations.

However, Beamish, in some of his more recent work in this area, has begun to raise a number of questions which focus on identifying some of the implications that the social characteristics of sport executives may have on the experience of being involved in sport. This becomes evident from the fact that in the concluding comments regarding his 1978 investigation into the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the national executives of selected amateur sports in Canada, Beamish (1978: 18) wrote, "There is a danger of a growing separation between policy makers of amateur sport and the men, women and children

[7] The studies cited by Slack are: in the area of typology: Babchuk and Booth (1969), Booth, Babchuck and Knox (1968), and Gordon and Babchuk (1959), and Warriner and Prather (1965); in the area of rates of participation: Curtis (1971), Hausknecht (1962), and Hyman and Wright (1971); and in the area of social characteristics of volunteers: Beamish (1978), Bratton (1970), Hollands and Gruneau (1979), Meisel and Lemieux (1972), Slack (1981), and Theberge (1980).

who both participate in and, through this participation, subsidize sporting activities". Five years later Beamish (1983) elaborated on those concluding remarks through three case studies. He linked a growing separation between the policy makers of amateur sport and those who participate in and subsidize sport to the personal troubles experienced by groups who have been unable to share in the making of sport policy. He accomplished this task by applying a theory of power developed by Lukes (1976) to three brief case studies and supplemented this theory with other relevant material. In his analysis Beamish drew attention to three examples of how the power held by national and provincial sport executives is being used to pursue a particular meaning of amateur sport. In case studies one and two he examined power, formal organization and women's experiences in sport. Beamish focused on some of the troubles which confront women who attempt to increase the possibilities available to women in sport by trying to work for change through the formal structures of sport organizations. Drawing from this analysis he suggested that there is most likely a relationship between the underepresentation of women on the executives of voluntary sport organizations and the limits exerted by the present structure of these organizations. He also raised several points of concern for women in sport. These concerns addressed such isssues as: how successful are women in advancing issues of reform?, what opportunities do they meet and how much of it is structural?, are women who want sport reform deliberately staying out of the mainstream channels of change because their previous experiences and the experience of their colleagues suggest that is the wisest course of action?, are the objectives of women in sport best pursued through centralized power structures?

In case study three Beamish drew attention to sports associations and athletes' rights. In particular he noted that increasing efforts to produce winners have resulted in an expansion of the efforts of sports professionals (i.e. coaches, executive and technical directors) to extend their control over athlete's lives by issuing a plethora of directives, rules and contracts. Absent from all these regulations which confront amateur athletes, observed Beamish, is any recognition of basic human rights. Furthermore, there are no avenues for these athletes to have some input, individually or collectively, into the content of these regulations to which

they are required to submit. The consequences of these conditions is expressed by the many instances in which athletes have suffered as a result of infringments upon their human rights (cf. Kidd and Eberts 1982). The major difficulty faced by athletes and their advocates who wish to change these circumstances is structural in as much as:

> Nowhere, it seems, within the existing power structure of Canadian amateur sport is there a group that will press for these rights. Nowhere within that structure are there presently the resources for athletes — or their advocates — which are comparable to those held by the national sports' associations, that can be mobilized to improve the working conditions of our amateur athletes (Beamish 1983: 30).

Beamish's theoretical analysis of the socioeconomic and demographic data on provincial and national sporting executives illustrates how the meanings and definitions of sport held by these individuals, and currently embodied in the Canadian sport structure, can be linked to the personal troubles experienced by the many other individuals involved with sport. This emphasizes the need for research that focuses on questions concerning the meaning of sport and its relationship to the structural constraints which impinge upon the individuals that comprise these organizations.

The only completed study that has in any way attempted to examine these sorts of issues in a manner that is sensitive to theoretical considerations is that of Slack (1983). Slack examined a voluntary sport organization in a manner that goes beyond the atheoretical inquires conducted previously and yet was at the same time sensitive to some of the class and gender inequalities that exist in these organizations. His study emphasized the importance of a sound theoretical base to the study of sport organizations. It also illustrates that the utilization of some of the work completed by researchers in the sub-discipline of the sociology of organizations and organizational analysis can be useful with regard to questions relating to voluntary sport organizatons. In particular Slack identified the work of Kanter, Downs, "The Aston Group ", Pfeffer, and Aldrich as being useful for different areas of concern.

Slack focused on a number of sub-problems related to understanding the process of bureaucratization and its consequences, why class and gender inequalities exist in voluntary sport organizations, the power structure within these organizations, and the relationship between these organizations and their environments. In his analysis of these sub-problems

Slack drew attention to the limits and possibilities that individuals faced in each area examined and offered a brief explanation of how these factors affected some members of the organization.

This particular piece of research can be regarded as a good standard base from which others interested in studying sport organizations can draw numerous insights. Its value lies in its attempt to deal with a number of issues related to how sport organizations have developed. In addition, and perhaps of greater importance, it identifies the usefulness of many of the elements absent in previous research. These elements must be considered in any study of organizations that attempts to clarify the relationship between the troubles faced by individuals and broader social issues.

Slack's analysis is very broad and while it does bring out the relationship between the public and the private it does this in a subtle fashion which neglects the significance of the role of the changing meanings of sport to the development of sport organizations. The most obvious reason is the fact that he was mainly concerned with providing an overview of the history and development of the organization he studied. This reason by itself is well justified. However, even limited to this particular focus, had Slack adopted a different approach, he would have been less likely to have overlooked the importance of meanings to the limits and possibilities that confronted volunteer administrators in the organization. This can be illustrated through a critique of how Slack developed his thesis.

Slack develops his concerns about sport organizations and the framework for his study through literature drawn from the sub-disciplines of sociology of sport and organizational theory. There is, however, an important discrepancy in the character of the work produced by the individuals from whom he drew. In identifying his topics of concern Slack primarily focused on the work of writers like Beamish, Gruneau, Ingham and Kidd. In particular Slack showed some concern about the underrepresentation of athletes from "underclass" backgrounds[1]. He wrote:

. . . if Canada, as a nation is to realize its maximum potential in the area of amateur

[1]This concern is based on the findings of a study conducted by Gruneau. See Gruneau 1976(b).

> sport, then it is necessary to provide the broadest range of opportunities for individuals of both gender and all social classes [sic] (1983:25) .

Later when developing a framework through a review of the literature he focused primarily on work in the area of organizational theory. In his discussion he examined the work of Albrow, Babchuk and Booth, Chapin, Downs, Hall, Mintzberg, Pfeffer, and Weber. There is an important sense in which the work done by the authors Slack cited with regard to the sociology of sport and those which he cited with regard to organization theory differs. Essentially, the work of Beamish, Gruneau, Ingham and Kidd, which was largely cited by Slack, is informed by a critical approach to sociology. Much of this work is specifically aimed at maintaining a certain classical orientation exemplified in the work of Marx and Weber in their studies of social relationships. In direct contrast, Slack, when drawing from the literature on organizations, consulted authors who, with the exception of Albrow, Kanter, and Weber, do not adopt a critical approach similar to that of the authors mentioned above. There is a major problem with this discrepancy. It would seem more than reasonable to expect Slack when addressing problems and issues revealed by a critical approach to the study of sport, to have drawn from a similarly informed perspective with respect to the study of organizations. However, as shown here, Slack fails to do this. The writings of critical organizational theorists such as Clegg and Dunkerley (1984) and Salaman (1979) can be used to demonstrate how this oversight is largely responsible for Slack's failure to consider in more detail the role of meaning in the development of the organization that he studied.

Writing from a critical perspective Salaman (1979) presented a number of persuasive arguments that illustrate how and why the approach adopted by conventional organizational analysts and theorists fails to account for the sorts of interests on which critical sociology has always focused. He argued that "a genuine sociological approach to organizations has found little appeal within established organization theory". First of all, Salaman suggested conventional organizational theory tends to neglect conflict and exaggerate the degree of concensus within organizations. Secondly, he wrote that it also demonstrates too great a preoccupation with managerial problems and issues. Conventional organization theory has rarely if ever admitted the significance of the fact that managers and lower level

organizational members are often in disagreement with regards to: the meaning of work and their feelings regarding the way in which their work should be designed, and the way in which the organization for which they work should be structured. Thirdly, he stated that conventional organizational theory is preoccupied with organizations themselves. "The society within which these organisations occur and its relations with these organisations has been very little studied [sic]."

All three of the above criticisms of conventional organizational theory are relevant to Slack's thesis. In keeping with conventional organizational theory he limited his analysis to those volunteers who held administrative or managerial positions in the organization neglecting the majority of volunteers who engage in the many other tasks involved in operating a voluntary sport organization. In so doing he was unable to consider the role of the membership at large in the development of the organization; neither in terms of its resistance to particular developments or in terms of its pressure for certain developments. Slack's work, however, holds up a little better, although marginally, against Salaman's remaining criticism. He did, although superficially, touch on the relationship of the organization with its environment. He noted that a number of general environmental influences affected the development of the organization he studied. He also suggested that an analysis of interorganizational relations would contribute to an understanding of the nature of voluntary sport organizations.

The arguments presented here make it reasonable to conclude that because Slack relied heavily on conventional organizational theory he was unable to examine the way in which the meanings held by the agents involved with sport were related to the limits and possibilities that have come to confront the members of the organization he studied. Despite this shortcoming Slack's work has made a significant contribution to future studies in as much as it points out that our understanding of voluntary sport organizations will improve only if researchers in this area recognize the importance of theory and the value of input from the relevant sub-disciplines within sociology. Furthermore, while others such as Beamish (1978, 1983) and Hollands and Gruneau (1979) have been truer to the traditions of 'critical'

sociology, their studies, while raising a number of important questions, have been very broad in scope and have not directly focused upon the intersection of larger social structures and individual experience.

The critique I have put forward here reflects a problem that permeates social theory in general and best illustrates the limitations of the work which has thus far focused on sport organizations. All the studies discussed above have a difficulty connecting human action with structural conditions. This, however, is not surprising for as Giddens (1973, 1979) and Lukes (1977) and many others make clear, the problem of connecting human action with structural conditions is the most significant problem in social theory. In my opinion it has not been dealt with in any of the theories (discussed here) that have guided the research on sport organizations per se. In chapter two I shall argue that the problem of deriving a means by which we can adequately treat the structure-agency relationship is a crucial one. If social theory is to go beyond its present limitations such a means must guide the design of social research. However, before discussing this issue in detail, I would like to direct some attention to the literature which has dealt with the study of organizations and at the same time recognizes the importance of the relationship of structure and agency to social understanding. This will enable the reader to have a clearer understanding of the orgins of the central focus of this study.

D. Voluntary Sport Organizations : Elements of a Critical Approach.

The arguments put forward in the above overview emphasize that a critical approach to the study of sport organizations needs to be consistent with regard to the work it draws upon to develop a framework for the sociolgical study of voluntary sport organizations. The above critique of Slack's approach emphasized that the theoretical biases inherent in the "organizational" theories he drew upon to develop his framework limited the explanatory power of his analysis. In addition, the previous discussion also indicates a need for studies that *directly* focus on the impact of social structures and process on the individual. In response to these observations I will outline a *sociological* approach to organizations that is

consistent with the approach of critical sociologists who have written about sport in a broad sense and at the same time contains a large degree of explanatory power with regard to the intersection between structure and agency.

The work of Salaman (1979) provides a comprehensive synthesis of the work of a number of 'critical' organizational theorists including: Benson, 1977; Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; Crozier, 1964; and Gouldner, 1954; to name a few. It does this in a manner that clearly outlines the common elements of the type of approaches undertaken by these researchers. An attempt by this author to improve upon Salaman's sythesis would not likely yield any more insights than those he provide. Consequently, I have chosen to summarize his discussion as a means of outlining the starting point and general approach of this study.

In Work Organisation: Resistance and Control Salaman (1979) presents a view point that is quite critical of the approach taken by the majority of those individuals who have studied organizations. He argued that very few accounts of organization have taken the problem of understanding the relationship between organization and society very seriously. Those accounts which have done so have tended to contain the attributes of common sense lay theorizing. This sort of theorizing results in a conception that the importance of organizations is restricted to "the 'obvious' functional contribution they make to the social system of which they are a part". Such a conception of organization leads researchers to ignore the relationship between organizations and patterns of domination within their host society.

Salaman like many critical sport sociologists (Beamish, Gruneau, Helmes, and Kidd) argues for the relevance of the insights of Marx and Weber. Weber, he maintains, in explaining broad organizational patterns in terms of social values and priorities, rather than "in the neutral rhetoric of the organisations themselves, made a major contribution to a genuine sociology of organisations" (1979: 13). Marx is credited, by Salaman, with supplying the ingredients for a critical sociology through his work on state bureaucracy and his analysis of the relationship between capitalism and the design of work.

> . . .both Marx and Weber in their sociology of organisations isolated and emphasized those key elements in the structure of large-scale organisations which were of most significance to their theoretical interest in the processes of control and legitimation within organisations and the relationship between organisational structure and

> processess and societal values and interests. Both stressed that organisational structure . . . can only be seen in terms of general processes initiated by, and in the interest of, those who ran or dominated the organisation. Both saw the purposes of organisations . . . and the structures of work and control to which they gave rise, as reflecting more general processes, cultures, interests, and priorities (1979: 23).

Salaman presented a sociological approach to organizations that is sensitive to the work of Marx and Weber and is a new radical approach to the study of organizations. The approach has three major elements. Firstly, it recognizes the politics of organizational structure. Secondly, it considers organizations and the social context. Thirdly, it considers organizations and ideology. All three of these elements have been the subject of the majority of work that examined the development of sport in Canada[9]. However, Salaman also focuses on the experience of organizational membership, an area which has been ignored by scholars who have studied the development of Canadian sport organizations.

In his analysis of the experience of organizational membership Salaman directed his attention towards three main dimensions: "the organisation of work, the experience of hierarchy and control, and the exposure to values and ideas that exist within the organisation". Linking an analysis of the dimensions of organizational experience to the three elements of the sociological approach (the politics of organization structure, organizations and social context, and organizations and ideology) to studying organizations, Salaman put forward a series of arguments which demonstrated that technological and organizational work patterns take on the shape, values, and assumptions central to the class structure, and consolidate that structure by sustaining and promoting the interests of the upper strata. Salaman also linked the dimensions of organizational experience to the principles of organization structure and argued that the organizational design of work reveals one major feature —the division between design and execution. He examined the division between design and execution in relation to the distinction between those who design work and control systems and those to whom these systems are applied. Utilizing the notion of high versus low work discretion Salaman argued that this distinction within organizations "relates closely to

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[9] For examples of discussions of: a) the politics of sport see Broom and Baka (1978), Cantelon (1982), and Gruneau (1979); b) sport and social context see Beamish (1978, 1981(a), 1981(b), 1982) and Kidd (1979); c) sport and ideology see Helmes (1977, 1978).

what other sociologists in specialist traditions would describe as class distinction". With regard to the determinates of such organizational structures, Salaman concluded that "to a considerable degree technologies - and organisation structures - are chosen for what are regarded as their control functions and benefits, and for their role in advancing class interests and conflicts".

In regard to how processes of control within organizations are exercised in various ways Salaman observed that "Mechanisms of control, and forms of control vary considerably in line with the distinction between high- and low-discretion work". For example, he notes that professional workers are often controlled through the manipulation of career chances and use of statistical records of performance, whereas shop-floor employees are controlled by means of highly standardized and formalized work routines combined with mechanization and automation.

Finally, Salaman concluded his work by discussing the values and ideas which occur within organizations. He suggested that values and ideas are important determinants of the nature of and occurrence of conflict within organizations. Salaman paid particular attention to the legitimating functions of the values and beliefs that are promoted in organizations. He indicated that organizational structure is based on ideological assumptions and preferences that are communicated to organizational employees. In this regard he wrote that the very 'rationality' of organization is itself highly vulnerable to charges of masking, and advancing, sectional interests in the name of neutrality, science and technology.

In his 'critical' approach to the sociology of organizations Salaman directly addresses the problem of understanding the process through which individuals and structures interact and become subject to, or embodied with, a degree of power and control. His general approach to this topic isolated a number of elements some of which have never been applied to the context of sport and may in fact prove useful to the study of the development of sport. The elements used by Salaman which have received little if any attention from scholars studying sport are: the organization of sport or work within sport organizations; the experience of hierarchy and control within sport organizations and sport; and exposure to

values that exist within sport organizations . The fact that Salaman, in combining these elements of structure and subjective experience and agency, was able to put forward an indepth analysis of work organizations suggests that a similar approach would be useful to the study of sport. Such an approach to the study of sport has, to this author's knowledge, not been undertaken. The explanatory power of Salaman's Work Organisations: Resistance and Control indicates to those interested in the study of sport organizations and the development of sport that we should begin to focus more attention on the elements of the experience within sport organizations. Our understanding of these experiences should in turn be linked to the structure of these organizations and society as a means of developing a better understanding of them.

E. Central Focus of the Proposed Study

In the preceding sections of this chapter, I have revealed that the meaning of sport held by individuals within sport organizations influences the limits and possibilities that confront individuals who wish to participate in sport. Previous studies of volunteer sport organizations have not attempted to examine the nature or role of the meanings, as reflected in the experiences of those who participate in the development of sport organizations, in terms of factors such as: their dialectical and recursive relationship to the structure of sport organizations, the types of meaning these organizations give to sport, or the way in which individuals experience sport and activities related to its practice. I have argued that a critical approach to the study of organizations promises to reveal more about these relationships than any other type of approach. As noted above, most critical work on sport has emphasized the extra-organizational, contextual, structural, and ideological elements of sport to the exclusion of any consideration of the experience of membership within sport organizations. Recognizing the importance of both areas to the understanding of sport organizations and the lack of data concerning the experience of membership I propose to undertake an investigation into the organization of sport which gives pre-eminance to the subjective experience of being involved in sport.

Consequently, the primary emphasis or main problem with which this research is to be concerned *is an inquiry into the experience of being involved with sport that considers this experience in terms of social context and the structure of a sport and sport organization.* A number of points and arguments presented in the previous section can be used to develop a list of sub-problems that will promote a comprehensive and succinct inquiry. The sub-problems with which this investigation is to be concerned are as follows:

1. To investigate the effects of the design and execution of tasks, within a sport organization, on the individual's experience of being invovled with sport.
2. To investigate the effects of the systems of hierarchy and control, within a sport organization, on the individual's experience of being involved with sport.
3. To investigate the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within a sport organization.

Chapter II

Central Issues in the Sociological Study of Social Organization.

A. Introduction

In the previous chapter I noted the contribution Salaman has made to the study of organizations. He drew attention to the need to examine organizations in a manner that considers the relation between organizations per se and the people who comprise them. In view of the lack of work which has attempted to examine the nature of membership within a sport organization, I argued that there is a need to understand the experience of being involved with a sport organization. Such an investigation requires an approach which draws some of its insight from work which goes beyond the sub-discipline of the sociology of sport. It is necessary to consider relevant work from the broad discipline of sociology itself and related sub-disciplines, such as the sociology of organizations. As well, the approach must be sensitive to the relationship between 'personal troubles' and social structure. Salaman's work is an example of how the consideration of work done in the broad discipline of sociology can be used to further the understanding of organizations. In this chapter I would like to further explore the relevance of work done in the broad discipline of sociology as it relates to the study of sport organizations. I will do this by considering some recent work that has addressed the central issues which confront researchers interested in the study of organizations and society in general and relating this work back to the ideas presented by Salaman.

Giddens' (1979) theory of structuration provides an exciting means of confronting the major issues that face social theory. This theory emerged out of Giddens' concern with the relationship between social structure and human agency. It has been recognized by a number of scholars as an important and valuable perspective for understanding social life. In addition, as will be shown later, it has been consulted by a number of researchers interested in the study of sport, and the study of organizations. Giddens' theory of structuration is a complex and detailed attempt to develop a framework for understanding social organization in a manner that resolves the debate concerning the primacy of structure versus agency in the

development of social organizations. In this chapter I will put forward a synoptic account of his framework and discuss how it has been used by organization theorists and how it can be used to guide the study of sport organizations.

Before proceeding with this discussion it is important to note that Giddens' own explication of his theory is extremely abstract. At times it is difficult to follow if the reader is not intimately familiar with the multitude of discourses on social theory which Giddens attempts to bridge. Familarizing the reader with the content of these discourses goes beyond the scope and limitations of this study. Yet some familiarity with their nature enables one to more easily grasp Giddens' work. Understanding Giddens' work is further complicated by the abstractness of his concepts and his reconceptualization of commonly used terminology. In order to overcome the difficulty posed by these characteristics, the explication of the theory of structuration presented here is divided into two parts. The first part is comprised of a straight paraphrasing of the central components of the theory of structuration as presented by Giddens. The second portion tries to give a concrete form to some of the concepts presented in the latter part of the paraphrasal by means of a critique of some of the work which has attempted to apply Giddens' ideas to the study of organizations. The ideas generated from the critique lead directly into an unveiling of the applicability of Giddens' ideas to the study of the experience of organizational membership within a sport organization.

B. The Structuration of Social Systems

The theory of structuration represents Giddens' attempt to overcome the dualism that has hindered most efforts to understand human life. In particular, his framework attempts to provide a method through which we can develop explanations of change and continuity in the process of social history. The key terms upon which the theory of structuration is formulated include: agency, structure, system, and structuration itself. Also important to Giddens' arguments is the ontological view that human agents and the relatively enduring social institutions through which and within which they live are a product of constitutive action. In this section I shall describe the keys terms within Giddens' framework. The most important

feature of his work is the reconceptualization of a number of terms he feels have been frequently misused by social theorists. Giddens maintains the view that the problems which confront the agency-structure debate can be traced to errors in the conceptualization of agency and structure. I will begin this presentation by examining the notions of agency and structure (which will include the concept of system). Following the discussion of those terms I will conclude with an explanation of Giddens' notion of Structuration.

Conceptualizing Agency and Action

Giddens suggested that the first requirement of connecting a notion of human action with structural explanation is a theory of the human agent, or of the subject. In defining agency he wrote:

> We may define . . . action as involving a stream of actual or contemplated causal interventions of corporeal beings in the on-going process of events in the world. . . . The concept of agency as I advocate it here, involving 'intervention' in a potentially malleable object-world, relates directly to the more generalized notion of *Praxis*. . . . it is a necessary feature of action that, at any point in time the agent 'could have acted otherwise': either positively in terms of attempted intervention in the process of 'events in the world', or negatively in terms of forebearance (1979: 56).

Figure 2.1 portrays what Giddens refers to as a 'stratification model' of action: "a model whose implications cannot be properly worked out separately from the discussion of the properties of structure". The model is based on the two main premises of Giddens' conception of agency: 1) that to be a human agent is to have the power to make a difference in the world, and 2) that all human agents are *knowledgeable*.

The knowledgeability of agents as described by Giddens is of two sorts —discursive knowledge and practical knowledge. Giddens used language theory to illustrate the nature of these two types of knowledge. He explained that all of us use language even though few of us can spell out all the rules of grammar. The ability to explain the rules of grammar represents discursive knowledge but in speaking we draw upon an unconscious knowledge of the rules of language and by that means draw upon our practical knowledge [10].

[10] This description of the concepts of discursive and practical knowledge has been taken from Beamish (1986). Beamish based his description on material drawn from Giddens' "Action, Structure, Power." in Profiles and Critiques in Social and Political

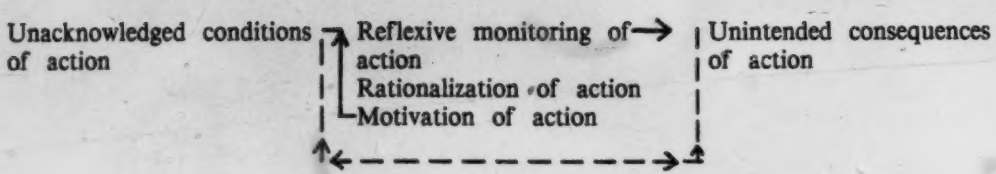

FIGURE 1: Stratification model of action.
(Adapted from Giddens 1979: 56)

The nature of these sorts of knowledge in human action is captured by the central portion of the model. The outer portions focus on the intersection between the knowledgeabilty of human agents and their power to make a difference in the world. Since power, as shall be made clear later, relates to both structure and agency a discussion of the stratification model of action, which primarily focuses on agency or subjectivity begs that we begin by focusing on the knowledgeability of human agents.

As will be shown below the concepts of discursive and practical knowledge underly the reflexive monitoring of action and the rationalization of action, each of which in turn operate against the background of the motivation of action. Giddens defined the reflexive monitoring of action as the intentional or purposive character of human behaviour which emphasizes intentionality as a process. This process includes the monitoring of the setting of interaction and not just the behavior of actors taken separately. The distinctive feature of the reflexive monitoring of action is the accountability of human action. Accountability, as it was used by Giddens (1979: 57) means "that the accounts that actors are able to offer of their conduct draw upon the same stocks of knowledge as are drawn upon in the very production and reproduction of their action". The giving of accounts draws from the discursive knowledge and capabilities of actors. This, however, does not exhaust the connections between stocks of knowledge and actions. While actors are almost always able to give an account of their actions

[10](cont'd) Theory, Berkley: University of California Press, 1982, pp. 30-32; "Agency, Instituion, and Time Space Analysis," in Advances in Social Theory and Methodology: Toward and Integration of macro- and micro-sociologies Karin Knorr-Centina and Aaron Cicourel (eds.), Boston: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1981, pp 162-164 ; and "Heurmenutics and Social Theory,", Profiles op. cit., pp. 9-10.

— i.e.,they draw on discursive knowledge — they are less frequently able to provide *exhaustive* explanations of their conduct: there is a vast amount of their action they cannot explain even though they will perform in a particular way in a given situation. The concept of the rationalization of action fills this gap and introduces the notion of practical knowledge.

The rationalization of action is the background against which the reflexive monitoring of conduct takes place. It is defined by Giddens as the "capabilities of agents to explain why they act as they do by giving reasons for their conduct". The rationalization of action is a normal characteristic of the behavior of competent social agents and is the main basis upon which their competence is adjudged by others. Reasons do not just include the citing of, or the appeal to, norms for they emerge from practical knowledge, which is not known to actors in an explicit codified form. The giving of reasons is closely associated with action and is extensively caught up in and expressive of the demand and conflicts entailed within social encounters. Practical knowledge provides the base from which actors draw to deal with the demands and conflicts entailed in social encounters. This type of knowledge is to a large extent motivational as it emerges from the motivational components of action which are defined as the organization of an actor's wants. The components of the motivation of action straddle conscious and unconscious aspects of cognition and emotion. Giddens notes that the whole weight of psychoanalytic theory suggests motivation has an internal hierarchy of its own; consequently he feels that a conception of the unconscious is essential to social theory[11].

Giddens emphasized the crucialness of a theory of motivation stating that it supplies the conceptual links between the rationalization of action and the framework of convention as embodied in institutions; that is, a theory of motivation is important to understanding how continuity of form is achieved in the day-to-day conduct of social activity. A theory of motivation, he added, must also relate to the unacknowledged conditions of action in respect of unconscious motives operating 'outside' the self understanding of the agent. The

[11] Giddens warns that in conceptualizing the unconscious we must guard against a reductive theory of institutions which fails to allow sufficient play to autonomous social forces. One must also avoid a reductive theory of consciousness which in emphasizing the role of unconsciousness is able to grasp the reflexive features of action as a pale cast of the unconscious processes that really determine them.

unconscious needs to be connected to the other side of the diagram, the unintended consequences of action, as it comprises only one set of the unacknowledged conditions of action. The unintended consequences of action are of central importance to social theory in so far as they are systematically incorporated within the reproduction of institutions.

This completes a summary of Giddens' conception of action and agency. As stated at the outset of this summary the full implications of this model cannot be properly worked out separately from a discussion of the properties of structures. As will become evident from the next section, Giddens conceptualizes the terms structure and system in a way that illustrates the recursive dialectic between action and structure. Through this conceptualization of these other terms it is possible to see how structures are involved in the stratification model of action, and how the stratification model of action is involved in the constitution of structures.

Conceptualizing Structure and System

The major problem that has faced social theorists in their attempts to conceptualize structure, has concerned defining the term 'structure' in a way that recognizes the pressures that social relationships exert on human agents to act in a certain way without moving the source of the causation of human action from the agents themselves. Most conceptions of structure in social theory stress the limitations that structures place on human action to such an extent that structure becomes equated with, and very often defined in terms of, constraint. Giddens maintained that it is this sort of treatment of the term structure that has led to the determinism that is characteristic of contemporary social theory. To overcome this problem Giddens insisted that it is necessary to reconceptualize a number of concepts that are key to social theory. He emphasized that the concepts *structure, system* and *structuration* appropriately conceptualized are all necessary to social theory.

The concept of structure Giddens developed depends upon making a distinction between structure and system and understanding each of these concepts differently from their characteristic usage within structuralism and functionalism. He argued, that the way in which these concepts have been used within structuralism and functionalism is very much at the root

of the problems that plague social theory. Giddens wrote,

> While both terms [structure and system] appear in the respective literatures of structuralism and functionalism the distinction between them is an unstable one, so that one tends to collapse into the other. . . . The subsequent [or recent] history of structuralism suggests one or the other of the terms [stucture and system] is redundant, since their usage overlaps so much: system often appears as a defining characteristic of structure. In functionalism there seems at first glance to be a basis for distinguishing between structure and system, following the structure/function contrast. Structure could be taken to refer to 'patterns' of social relationships, system to the actual 'functioning' of such relationships. This is indeed a distinction that is often made in functionalist writings. But it is not one which is sustained, resting as it does on a supposed parallel with a differentiation between anatomy and physiology in the study of the organism. The 'structure' of the organism exists 'independently' of its functioning in a certain specific sense: the parts of the body can be studied when the organism dies, that is when it has stopped 'functioning'. But such is not the case with social systems, *which cease to be when they cease to function*: 'patterns' of social relationships exist only in so far as the latter are organized as systems reproduced over the course of time. Hence in functionalism also, the notions of structure and system tend to dissolve into one another (1979: 61-62).

Giddens went on to say the following about his conception of structure:

> As I shall employ it, 'structure' refers to 'structural property', or more exactly to structuring property providing the 'binding' of time and space in social systems. I argue that these properties can be understood as rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems. Structures exist paradimatically, as an absent set of differences, temporally 'present' only in their instantiation, in the constituting moments of social systems. To regard structure as involving a virtual order of differences, as I have already indicated, does not necessitate accepting Levis-Strauss's views that structures are simple models posited by the observer. Rather, it implies recognizing the existence of: a) knowledge —as memory traces— of 'how things are to be done' (said, written), on the part of social actors; b)social practices organized through the recursive mobilization of that knowledge; c) capabilities that the production of those practices presupposes (1979: 64).

With the above point in mind, Giddens indicated that 'structural analysis' in the social sciences involves examining the structuration of social systems. He defined 'social system' as a 'structural totality'. Noting that structures do not exist in time-space except in the moments of the constitution of social systems, he wrote that we can analyze how 'deeply layered' structures are in the patterns they recursively organize and how wide-spread they are across a range of interactions. Institutions, he explains, are examples of the most deeply layered practices constitutive of social practices in the above senses. Figure 2.2 provides an illustration of the concepts of structure, system, and structuration. An examination of Giddens' conceptualization of these terms and their interconnectedness will move us a step closer to the heart of his framework; an indepth consideration of his theory of structuration.

STRUCTURE	Rules and resources, organized as properties of social systems. Structure only exists as 'structural properties'.
SYSTEM	Reproduced relations between actors or collectivities, organized as regular social practices
STRUCTURATION	Conditions that govern the continuity or transformation of structures and consequently the reproduction of social systems.

FIGURE 2: Definition of Structure, System and Structuration. (Adapted from Giddens 1979: 66)

Beginning with social systems, which do exist in time-space, we can see that Giddens conceptualizes them as involving regularized relations of interdependence between individuals that can be analyzed as *recurrent social practices*. For Giddens, systems have structures, or "more accurately structural properties"; they are not structures in themselves. Structures are by necessity properties of systems and are characterized by *the absence of a subject*. Finally, to study the structuration of a social system is to study the ways in which that system, via the application of generative rules and resources, in the context of unintended outcomes, is produced and reproduced in interaction. Emphasizing the importance of rules and resources as structural properties of social systems led Giddens to stress the centrality of power to social theory. In doing so he treated resources as the bases or 'vehicles' of power which comprise structures of domination, drawn upon by parties to interaction and produced through the *duality of structure*.

The duality of structure is the central concept to the theory of structuration. It combines all the concepts associated with structure and agency discussed thus far in a manner that avoids the determinism that has characterized contemporary sociology. It is through the concept of the duality of structure that Giddens escapes equating structure with constraint

and is consequently able to keep the theory of structuration free of determinsim. How Giddens was able to achieve this will become evident in the next section which examines the theory of structuration, and his notion of the duality of structure which is central to his theory. I shall point out that it is through the concept of the duality of structure that Giddens links the knowledgeability of agents to the structural properties of social systems which he states are both the outcomes and the medium of the actions that create social systems.

The Theory of Structuration

> The concept of structuration involves that of the *duality of structure* which relates to the *fundamentally recursive character of social life and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency*. By the duality of structure I mean that the structural properties of social systems are both the medium and outcome of the practices that constitute those systems (Giddens 1979: 69)

The first main point made by Giddens concerning the formulation of structuration is that the identification of structure with constraint is rejected. He regarded structures as both enabling and constraining maintaining that one of the tasks of social theory is to study the circumstances in the organization of social systems that govern the interconnections between the two. This conception of structure maintains that the same structural characteristics participate in the subject, or actor, as participate in the object, or society. Hence, Giddens asserted that:

> Structure forms 'personality' and 'society' simultaneously —but in nether case exhaustively: because of the significance of the unintended consequences of action, and because of the unacknowledged consequences of action. Ernest Bloch says, *Homo semper tiro*: man is always a beginner. We may agree, in the sense that every process of action is a production of something new, a fresh act; but at the same time all action exists in a continuity with the past which supplies the means of its initiation.. *Structure thus is not to be conceptualized as a barrier to action but as essentially involved in its production*: even in the most radical processes of social change which, like any other, occurs in time (1979: 70).

Giddens also maintains in regard to the duality of structure that according to this notion rules and resources are drawn upon by actors in the process of interaction, but are thereby also reconstituted through such interaction. This implies that institutions do not work 'behind the backs' of the social actors who produce and reproduce them. "Every competent member of every society knows a great deal about the institutions of that society: such

knowledge is not *incidental* to the operation of society but necessarily involved in it" (Giddens 1979: 71). Giddens made a number of qualifications of what is implied by the proposition that every human agent has a wide ranging, yet intimate and subtle knowledge of the society of which he or she is a member. Firstly, he restated that knowledge has to be understood in terms of practical and discursive consciousness. Secondly, because every individual actor is only one among many in society, we have to recognize that what an actor knows as a competent — but historically and spatially located — member of society, 'shades off' in contexts that stretch beyond his or her day-to-day activity. Finally, he notes that the parameters of practical and discursive consciousness are bounded in specificable ways that connect with the 'situated' character of the actors' activities, but are not reducible to it. These are recognized in the unconscious conditions of action and the unintended consequences of action.

These points then, summarize the major features of the theory of structuration as conceived by Giddens. The integration of the concepts discussed thus far form the core of Giddens' theory of structuration. The duality of structure is the central concept to Giddens' thesis. This concept captures the recursive character of the relationship between agents and structure recognizing that the strucutural properties which constitute the social systems produced by human agents are involved in the production of future social systems that produce and reproduce structural properties. It also recognizes that structures figure into the personalities which contain the meanings human agents give to things. Two important premises which emerge from this theory and which are relevant to this study are: that human agents are always in various ways knowledgeable about the structural properties of social systems, and that structures are both enabling and constraining. With these key points established it is now possible to turn this discussion of Giddens' framework to its implications in the understanding of organizations as social systems.

C. Structuration, and the Study of Organization

So far this discussion has demonstrated that the theory of structuration provides a framework which recognizes the unity of subjectivity and action and that the structural properties of social systems — which often arise from the unintended consequences of action — have a direct impact on this unity. However, as it stands at this point the framework is largely abstract and needs to be understood more concretely, in terms of its applicability to the study of organizations, if it is to be of any use as a heuristic device. In this section, by focusing on the way in which the theory of structuration has been been applied to the study of organizations, a more concrete understanding of this theory will be developed.

While there has been almost no effort to apply Giddens' framework to the study of sport organizations, scholars in the area of organizational analysis (cf. Barley, 1986; Ranson, Hinnings and Greenwood, 1980; Riley, 1983; and Willmott, 1981) have attempted to capture its insights in their work. One of the first and best known of these attempts was that of Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980). Unfortunately, as Willmott (1981) argued, their endeavor was not particularly successful because they were inconsistent in their usage of Giddens' theory and ignored a number of its key components.

Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood (1980) turned their attention to the work of Giddens in response to the observation that organizational theorists have clung too tightly to the traditionally held concepts of structure as either prescribed framework or structure as patterned regularities and process of interaction. In their framework these researchers attempted to bridge the gap between these conceptions of structure which, as discussed above, embody the dualism that is characteristic of social science in general. Drawing from the work of Giddens, they stressed that organizational structures should be seen as being both *constitutive* (i.e., involved in producing action) and *constituted* (i.e., produced by action). Such a view of organizational structure they argued, quite correctly, was more useful than either of the traditionally held conceptions of organizational structure which dominate organization theory. Their method of incorporating this view of structure into their framework did not involve a reconceptualization of the term structure and its usage, but

instead involved the introduction of a number of new concepts which were designed to bridge the gap. They maintained that through their conceptualization of the terms "provinces of meaning", "dependencies of power", and "contextual constraint" they were able to provide a framework that could account for the structuring of organizational structures.

Through the conceptualization of the term *provinces of meanings*, Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980: 5) focused on "understanding the structuring of interactive patterns (interaction structure) within organizations". Through their conceptualization of *dependencies of power* they captured the notion that "structuring is typically the privilege of some organizational actors". In this regard they argued in favor of an analytical focus on the relations of power which enable organizational members to constitute and recreate organizational structures according to their provinces of meaning. The concept of *contextual constraints* was put forward in recogniton of the idea that the relationship of structural characteristics found in organizations arises because of the pressure that contingent or situational circumstances bring to bear on organizational actors.

A close examination of the Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) framework reveals, as Willmott (1981) noted, that it is problematic and inconsistent in its usage of Giddens' notion of structure as being constitutive of (the medium) and constituted by (the outcome) social interaction. Willmott observed:

> It is not difficult to see how provinces of meanings are constitutive of complex media of control. Nor is it difficult to appreciate how these provinces of meaning themselves reflect dependencies of power. However it is extremely difficult to grasp how, in this context, any reference to contextual contraints is relevant for analyzing how structures— media of control—are actually constituted and constitutive. For, if it is accepted that the structuring or social reproduction of structures is directly and inextricably tied to the constituting of interaction, then the focus for study must be upon how structures are practically constituted in and constitutive of, interaction. From this perspective, mention of contextual constraints is redundant save insofar as they, for example, constitute an element of the actor's provinces of meaning (1981: 470).

In their framework Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) retain the traditional conceptualizations of structure as prescribed framework and structure as patterned regularities and process of interaction. This opposes the essential component of the theory of structuration which is its reconceptualization of the whole notion of structure. As shown

earlier, Giddens' argued that this was essential in order to overcome the limitations and the determinism that is characteristic of contemporary social theory. The most problematic manifestation of those limitations and the associated determinism being the equation of structure with constraint. The Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) framework fails to provide an adequate means of understanding the structuration of organizations because in attempting to retain both of the traditional conceptions of structure it relies on equating structure with constraint and does not conceive of structure as enabling or as participating in the subject or actor.

There is no reason to assume, as Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood did, that contextual contraint *must* form an integral part of a model designed to reveal how organizational structures are defined and mediated by the process of structuring. If one is going to consistently adopt Giddens' theory of structuration, one must avoid conceptualizing structure as something that is separated from, and conditioned by, constraint in the external environment. One must also, and Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) failed to do this, maintain a distinction between 'structure' and 'system' in the manner that Giddens advocated. The way in which Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood conceptualized these terms led to the same confusion that Giddens argued is charactistic of the traditional conceptions of structure and system which tend to dissolve into one another. They do not make a clear distinction between organizations as systems and the structural properties of organizations in a way that is consistent with the theory of structuration. They maintained that as social systems change over time their structural properties will change in some sort of corresponding manner. The theory of structuration does not accept such a deterministic view. Furthermore, it refutes any notion that structures exist in time-space. Instead, the theory of structuration focuses on structure as the rules and resources people use in interaction, declaring that structures have no reality independent of the social practices they constitute. These points taken together help to emphasize the importance of Willmott's (1981) comment that:

> If our concern is to account for the *actual* structuring of organizational structures, then the focus of our analysis must be upon how this structuring is practically accomplished. Of course, in doing so, it is important not to loose sight of Ranson, Hinnings, and Greenwood's crucial point that organizational structuring "does not

> exist in a vacuum" (1980:9). But at the same time, it is equally important not to separate organizational structuring from the social totality that it serves to reconstitute. From this standpoint, there is neither room nor sense in introducing the concept of contextual constraints. For the structuring of structures can be studied only through the analysis of interaction, and this concept cannot be grasped by correlating modes of structuring with forms of constraint (1981: 471).

In contrast to Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood, Riley (1983) and Willmott (1981) provide a more adequate application of the theory of structuration to the analysis of organizations. The application of this theory to the analysis of organizations advocated by Riley (1983) and Willmott (1981) focus on Giddens' method for identifying the conditions that guide the continuity — or change — of structures, and thus the reproduction of society. They are careful to emphasize the distinction between 'social systems' and 'structure' which Ranson, Hinings, and Greenwood (1980) fail to do.

Willmott (1981) and Riley (1983) point out that Giddens isolated two means of analyzing the structures produced through interaction through the ***modalities of structuration*** presented in Figure 2.3. These modalities represent the central dimensions of the duality of structure in the constitution of interaction. They can be investigated by means of an institutional analysis of structural dimensions or an analysis of strategic conduct through the dimensions of interaction. These two modes of analysis recognize the different levels of interaction that take place in day-to-day life and the way they reproduce social systems and their structural properties. They emerge from a distinction Giddens makes between ***social integration*** and ***system integration*** which, he presented as a means of recognizing the contrasts between various levels of interaction. The notion of integration, wrote Giddens:

> . . . refers to the degree of interdependence of action, or 'systemness', that is involved in any mode of system reproduction. Intergration can be defined therefore as regularised ties, interchanges or ***reciprocity*** between actors or collectives. 'Reciprocity of practices' has to be understood as involving regularised relations of autonomy and dependence between the parties concerned (1979: 70).

In this scheme the method of ***institutional analysis*** and the ***analysis of strategic conduct*** are put forward as a means through which the study of social systems can be adequately undertaken in the social sciences.

The methods of institutional analysis and the analysis of strategic conduct draw their insight into the understanding of social life through the modalities of structure, which

Dimensions of Structure	(Modality)	Dimensions of Interacton
Signification	Interpretive scheme	Communication
Domination	Facility	Power
Legitimation	Norm	Morality/Sanction

FIGURE 3: The duality of structure in interaction
(Adapted from Giddens 1979: 82)

represent the central dimension of the duality of structure in interaction. The modalities of structuration are drawn upon by actors in the production of interaction, but at the same time are the media of reproduction of the structural components of systems of interaction. In the analysis of strategic conduct "modalities are treated as stock of knowledge and resources employed by actors in the constitution of interaction as skilled knowledgeable accomplishment within bounded conditions of the rationalization of action". In institutional analysis the "modalities represent rules and resources considered as institutional features of systems of social interaction".

This formulation is supposed to express the level of modality as providing the coupling elements whereby the bracketing of strategic conduct or institutional analysis is melted away in favor of recognition of their interrelation. Figure 2.3 represents Giddens' portrayal of the dimensions that are combined in differing ways in social practices. Giddens emphasized that all social practices involve communication, power, and sanction which are situated within intersecting sets of rules and resources that ultimately express features of the totality. Riley (1983) and Willmott (1981) have noted that employing the Giddens' framework means that organizational reality can be understood in terms of interlocking modalities comprising interpretive schemes, facilities, and norms [12].

[12]In actuality Riley put this in terms of signification, domination, and legitimation in her institutional analysis of political culture.

The methods of strategic conduct or institutional analysis provide two interrelated ways of studying these dualities. In the first case their relation as a feature of a system of social interaction is bracketed and they are studied as stocks of knowledge and resources from which actors draw upon in their social relations. In the second instance, the actor's methods of mobilizing these stocks and resources are bracketed and the focus is on modalities as features of social systems. The significance of the level of modality, as Willmott (1981: 472) put it, "is that it provides a means of articulating the connection between the levels of 'action' and 'system' ".

This means goes far beyond by that provided the structuration of organizations thesis put forward by Ranson Hinnings and Greenwood. As Willmott noted:

> From this standpoint, the view of structure as framework is transcended in favor of structure as a property of social systems that are reproduced through social interaction. Similarly, the conventional conception of structure as interaction is transcended in favor of recognizing how interaction is accomplished by drawing upon the structural properties of social systems .
>
> . . .Thus, Giddens' framework provides a real alternative to perpetuating the dualism between 'structure as framework' and 'structure as interaction' that lies at the heart of contemporary organization theory. Moreover, in doing so, it provides a schema for a fuller appreciation of the sense of Salaman's (1981:229-230) recent contention that "without the clear recognition that the design of work, the distribution of work rewards [and] the process of organizational control and legitimation . . . reflect the class relations of the wider society, our understanding of organizational processes and structures can at best be partial, at worst, hopelessly unreal."[sic] (1981: 474).

It is to this greater appreciation of Salaman's work, as provided through Giddens' theory of structuration that I shall now turn. This will take the discussion back to the sub-problem areas outlined in chapter 1 and reveal an interconnection between the sub-problem areas of this study and the theory of structuration. It will also clarify the nature of each sub-problem area in terms of the elements that will comprise the investigation each of these.

D. Modalities of Structuration and the Analysis of Organizational Experience

The central focus of this study concerns investigating the experience of being involved with sport. Drawing from Salaman's (1979) research on work organizations three sub-problem areas have been defined: 1) To investigate the effects of the design and methods

of execution of tasks, within a sport organization, on the individual's experience of being involved with sport; 2) To investigate the effects of the established systems of hierarchy and control, within a sport organization, on the individual's experience of being involved with sport; 3) To investigate the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within a sport organization. In this section I shall explore some of the linkages between the work of Salaman and the theory of structuration in a manner which reveals how they may be used as a means of providing an understanding of the experience of membership within a sport organization.

As stated above, Willmott (1981) suggested that Giddens' theory of structuration provides a means through which one can gain a greater appreciation of Salaman's research on organizations. This is because there are a number of parallels that can drawn between their work. For instance, Salaman's delineation of the study of organizational structure and the study of organizatational membership resembles Giddens' methodological distinction between institutional analysis and the analysis of strategic conduct. In his analysis of both these dimensions Salaman concentrated on meaning, values, ideas, power, control, ideology and legitimation. The way in which he went about this enabled him to provide a comprehensive understanding of work organizations and at times it seems to capture a sense of the sort of understanding of social systems that Giddens argued can be gained through the modalities of structuration. Giddens defined the modalities of structuration as providing the coupling elements whereby the bracketing of strategic conduct or institutional analysis is disolved in favor of an acknowledgement of their interrelation. Salaman's analysis explicitly concentrated on the interrelationship between the structure of organizations and the interaction that takes place within them. However, Salaman did not, conceptualize the dimensions of his analysis in a manner that directly resembles Giddens' modalities of structuration. Consequently, although there are some parallels between Giddens' theory of structuration and Salaman's approach, each has a number of distinct features.

Both the similarities and differences between these two approaches are relevant to this study. The differences between the two approaches provide a focus for a critique that can be used to argue infavor of the utilization of one framework over the other. The similarites

between the two approaches can be used to outline the sub-problems areas of the study in a way that captures the strengths and insights promised by each approach. It is not within the scope of this research to enter into an elaborate discussion of the differences between Salaman's approach and that of Giddens. An indepth discussion of this sort would raise a number of issues which are not immediately relevant to this study. To elaborate briefly with regards to what has already been said about Giddens' and Salaman, the major distinction between their approaches which is of particular relevance to this study concerns the conceptualization of the unintended consequences of action and the unacknowleged conditions of action. Salaman's approach to the study of organization stands in direct opposition to these notions which Giddens has shown are important to understanding human action. Salaman's lack of sensitivity to the importance of these notions is expressed by his constant reinteration of the fact that organizations must always be regarded as instruments of control through which one group of individuals seeks to dominate another. Within Salaman's framework there is no room for the idea that the domination within an organization may be unintentional, or the result of the unacknowledged conditions of action. Salaman's failure to include, and even to discuss this element, in my opinion, makes his approach inferior to that of Giddens. Futhermore, as will become apparent below, the theory of structuration provides a clearer conceptualization of the interconnection between structure and interaction than the one that can only be gained by drawing implicitly from Salaman's analysis; that is Salaman never clearly puts forward a conceptual framework per se.

In spite of these criticisms, Salaman's work is important to this study because he examined organizations in a manner that was sensitive to the personal troubles exeperienced by organizational members and the relationship between these troubles and the structure of the organizations to which they belonged. It is for this reason that the sub-problem areas of this study were drawn from his approach. At the same, in consideration of what has been said concerning the value of Giddens' theory of structuration, the investigation of the sub-problem areas of this study will also attempt to capture the spirit of his approach. This can be achieved by relating the theory of structuration to the central focus and sub-problem

areas of this study.

Within the domain of the structuration thesis the analysis of organizational experience may be interpreted as an attempt to study the mode in which social actors draw upon structural elements in their social relationships within social systems. Ordinarily, this demands an analysis at the level of strategic conduct. A thorough analysis of this sort would require the implementation of phenomenological and/or ethnomethodological techniques. However, it alo possible to approach the study of organizational experience by focusing on the modalities of structuration. In fact, there are a number of respects in which Salaman's approach to the sub-problem areas he defined for the study of organizational experience can be related to the modalties of structuration put forward by Giddens.

Investigating the effects of the design and methods of exectution of tasks within sport organizations on the experience of being involved with sport addresses the modality of interpretive schemes. The accounts given by actors concerning the design and methods of execution of tasks within a sport organization will reflect the "standardized elements of stocks of knowledge, applied by actors in the production of interaction". In other words, the discursive and/or reflexive accounts actors give concerning how or why they do the things they do in a particualar way can provide insight into the background assumptions, meanings, and sense making, that informs their understanding of what they do.

Investigating the effects of established systems of hierarchy and control conforms to analysis at the level of facility. Systems of hierachy and control manifest the patterns of power and domination that exist within an organization. Within the structuration thesis power is seen as '*transformative capacity*' and as such refers to agents capabilities of reaching an outcome. As Willmott (1981) noted, systems of domination enable interactants to affect each other's conduct through the application of facilities; namely rules and resources. In this regard the accounts actors give concerning the intent of their inovlvement and the subsequent outcomes which have emerged — unintended, intended and unanticipated— will provide an impression of the power relationships that exist within the organization and its impact on the experience of membership within organizations.

Finally, investigating the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within an organization can provide an understanding of the modality of norms. This is the most complex element of the theory of structuration and the analysis of organizational experience, as it tends to overlap into the notion of interpretive schemes. Giddens wrote:

> . . . the distinction between the two is analytical, not a substantive one: the conventions whereby the communication of meaning in interaction is achieved have normative aspects, as do all structural elements of interaction (1979: 85).

For the most part, norms can be understood as positively sanctioned expected behaviour (i.e. the achievement ethic, contractual obligations, or in sport "the pursuit of excellence"). The close relationship between interpretive schemes and norms makes it difficult to uncover norms directly. For norms, inasmuch as they are often embodied in routinized behaviour, are invisible to actors themselves. Giddens explained that:

> . . . in routinized social circumstances, actors are rarely able, nor do they feel the need, in response to the inquires they make of one another in the course of social activity, to supply reasons for behavior that conforms to convention (1979: 219).

Consequently, a perception of the norms that exist within an organization can only be gained by identifying those ideas, values, and behaviors, as arcticulated by actors, which are taken for granted. This can done by analysing the accounts actors give of their behaviour with regard to their ability to explain their behaviour and in regard to the explanations they give for not engaging in alternative behaviors characteristic of other individuals in other groups.

Investigating the central problem of this study in the manner outlined above should not only provide an understanding of the experience of being involved with a sport organization, but also provide the growing number of researchers interested in applying Giddens' theory of structuration to the study of organizations with some empirical evidence and insights upon which to develop more comprehensive studies of organizations from this theoretical standpoint. This completes the discussion of the conceptual ideas that have been used to guide this study. To conclude this chapter on central issues in the study of sport orgaizations I shall consider the sub-problems areas, as outlined above, in terms of the insights supplied by previous work on sport that are relevant to the design of this study.

E. The Experience of Organizational Membership in a Sport Organization: Previous Studies

While no previous research done on sport organizations has specifically taken up the task of examining the experience of membership within these organizations, there is some research which implicitly touches on the dimensions of this experience. This section will touch upon this research as a means of gaining a rudimentary understanding of the nature of organizational experience within sport organizations and identifying the gaps which this study attempted to fill.

The first dimension of organizational experience is the design and methods of execution of tasks within sport organiztions. Much of the literature on the design of sport organizations suggests that there has been a growing bureaucratization of these organizations. The extent of the bureaucratization of these organizations has been limited to a division of labour which results in the functions of offices being specified along with a unified control system in terms of a set of rules and regulations (Slack (1983) and Cunningham (1986)) . The consequences of this movement towards greater differentiation of tasks have been regarded as both positive and negative. Slack (1983) suggested that a positive consequence of this occurance has been a greater range of choice of roles within the organization. At the same time however, Slack (1983) also noted the move towards bureaucratization served to perpetuate the existing class domination that is characteristic of the broader capitalist society in which the organization he studied operates. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Campbell (1984), Cunningham (1986) and Slack (1983), the increased specialization, standardization, and formalization, within sport organizations has lead to centralization of decision making which put considerable power into the hands of small number of individuals.

Missing from this research has been any indication of the day-to-day operation of these systems and the way in which they are experienced and interpreted by the individuals who are involved in their implementation. Consequently, one of the concerns of this study was to obtain an indication of how and why a particular system of relationships is maintained within a sports organization from the point of view of the actors themselves. For example, actors would be asked why they did what they did the way they did and how they felt about

what they were doing.

With regard to the dimension of hierarchy and control within these organizations, research has indicated that the increased bureacratization of voluntary sport has increased the number of rules to which the members of these organizations are subject. The work which has focused on athletes' rights in Canada, directly examined the impact of heirarchy and control upon the experience of being an athlete. Kidd and Eberts (1982: 12-13) noted, while sport governing bodies have an understandable concern that athletes deport themselves in a responsible sportsmanlike fashion "sometimes the rules governing athletes behaviors off the field (however well-intentioned) prohibit or disrupt activities in which the athlete engages for the very purpose of competing at his or her best". A growing concern with the experience of hierarcy and control as it relates to the athlete has also been noted by Beamish (1983), to which I have already refered in chapter one. The important observation noted there was Beamish's statement that increasing efforts to produce winners have led to an expansion of the efforts of sports professionals to extend their control over athletes's lives by issuing a plethora of directives, rules and contracts. Athletes, while they do make up the majority of the membership of these organizations, do not comprise their entirity. Other roles exist within these organizations and are also subject to hierarchy and control. Futhermore, the research that has focused on athletes's rights has focused specifically on the concerns of athletes who are of international caliber. These athletes represent a small percentage of all the athletes who participate in sport in Canada. Their concerns may infact be quite different from those athletes that participate in sport at a much lower lever. Hence, with regard to the experience of hierarchy and control in a voluntary sport organization this study concerned itself with examining this experience with as broad as scope was possible.

Finally, the third dimension to be considered is the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within sport organizations. There has been little research on this dimension per se. Nonetheless, implicit in the literature on sport is an indication that a number values are often associated with sport and that a number of values associated with other areas related to sport have had an impact on sport organizations. With regard to the former, some individuals

define the importance of sport in terms of its ability to enhance self-development and argue for the right to sport for everyone, of every age, of every race, of every nationality, whether rich or poor (Kidd (1981)). These individuals fear that an increasing focus on "high performance" sport, which legitimates sport participation solely on the basis of one's ability to win medals at international sporting contests, has served to make sport increasingly inacessible to the majority of Canadians. Important in this respect are the constant references in the literature concerning government involvement in sport. A number of researchers (cf. Beamish 1982; Broom and Baka 1978; Hallet 1981; Helmes 1977, 1978; and Kidd 1981, 1982) have indicated that governments have increasingly encouraged voluntary sport organizations to make the development of elite athletes their number one priority.

Values concerning areas not directly related to sport per se have also had an impact on sport organizations. Pitter, Slack, and Cunningham (1985) reported that individuals involved with voluntary sport organizations indicated that there has been a shift in the values held concerning a number of areas associated with sport. These value areas concern the following: 1) the role of government in the development sport, 2) the staff requirements of volunteer organizations, and 3)The application of scientific principles to all aspects of amateur sport.

The research which has revealed the many values that have been important to the development of sport organizations has said little about the dynamics of interaction within organizations that led an organization to support a particular value orientation towards sport and other areas associated with its practice. One of the aims of this study was, through examing the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within a sport organization, to understand the circumstances underlying the organization's position on the above issues.

F. Summary

In this chapter a discussion of the central issues in the study of social organization was put forward through a consideration of Gidden's theory of structuration. The theory of structuration was shown to provide a comprehensive means of understanding the relationship between structure and agency in the development of organizations and society. The relevance

of the theory of structuration to the study of sport organizations was explored through a critique of previous efforts to utilize this theory to study of organizations. The critique emphasized that Gidden's conceptualization of the modalities of structuration was the key component of his theory. Gidden's conceptualization of these modalities was then used to illustrate the explanatory power and limitations of Salaman's work on organizations which was initially used to develop the sub-problem areas of this study. It was suggested that the modalities of structuration put forward by Giddens could be studied by means of the dimensions of organizational experience developed by Salaman to provide an understading of the experience of membership within a voluntary sport organization. The modality of interpretive schemes would be explored through an examination of the organzition and design of tasks within the sport organization. The modality of facility would be investigated by focusing on the experience of hierarchy and control that takes place within a sport organization. The modality of norms would be examined through the investigation of the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within a sport organization.

The chapter concluded with a brief overview of the literature on sport organizations relevant to the sub-problem areas of the study. Through this overview a number of concerns specific to each problem area were identified for further investigation. With respect to investigating the design and execution of tasks within the organization I suggested a need to understand this in terms of the day-to-day activities of the organization. It was suggested that the investigation of the experience of hierarchy and control in the organziation encompass as broad as scope as is possible. And finally, I suggested that an investigation of the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within the organization be used to gain insight into the circumstances underlying the organization's position on a number of value areas relevant to the organization of sport.

Chapter III

Research Methods and Procedures

A. Introduction

The focus of this study was to investigate the experience of membership in an amateur sport organization. In considering the sort of research methods and procedures that would be most fruitful to such an analysis, it was important that those utilized in this study be compatible with the framework of analysis. The distinctive feature of the framework of analysis used in this study, namely the theory of structuration, was its focus on the interaction between structure and agency through institutional analysis and the analysis of strategic conduct. Consideration was also given to the ongoing debates which have focused on methodology within the discipline of sport sociology (cf. Beamish 1981(a) & (b); Gruneau 1978, 1983; Hall 1985; Helmes 1981; Ingham 1979; and Whitson 1978, 1986). Of the various approaches that have been discussed through these ongoing debates, qualitative approaches and associated methods appeared to be the most compatible with the focus of this study. These approaches tend to be more sensitive to an investigation into the experience of organization inasmuch as they place a larger emphasis on the understanding of lived human experiences (Gruneau (1978)).

The qualititive methods and data-gathering techniques which were used in this study were chosen for their compatibility with the central focus of the study and the guiding framework. Three data-gathering techniques were selected. These were the focused interview, document analysis, and direct observation of the organization's activities. As will be made clear in the following section, it was felt that these techniques characteristically provide a rich and complimentary supply of information. Furthermore, each technique could, to a certain extent be used to overcome the limitations of the other. Organizational documents provide information that is essential to understanding the institutional aspects of the theory of structuration while in-depth interviews and direct observation of the actors provide data that are relevant to the strategic conduct of social actors. A more complete understanding of the

features of these data gathering techniques is the focus of a later section. Prior to considering these techniques in detail a description of the organization and respondents used in this study is appropriate.

B. Selection of the Organization and Respondents of the Study

Selection of the Sport Organization

One of the largest and oldest track and field clubs in the City of Edmonton was chosen as the focus of this study. Several factors were considered in choosing this organization. First of all, because this study was concerned with the limits and possibilities one confronts in the practice of sport, it was felt that the organization studied should be one which had in place easily identifiable rules and procedures governing its own operations and the rights and obligations of its membership. Secondly, its regulations should have affected a relatively large number of individuals who voluntarily chose to belong to it. Finally, some consideration was given to the accessibility of the organization. Since the general methodology of this proposed study relied heavily upon interviewing and some document analysis, it was important that both individuals and documents be accessible to the researcher. Ideally, the availability needed to be such that it enabled the researcher to return to data sources repeatedly. This was necessary in order to maintain a minimum standard of reliability.

With these factors in mind, a number of sport organizations were immediately eliminated. Considerations of accessibility eliminated regulatory sport organizations that were international and national in scope. These organizations are highly inaccessible since their members and offices are spread out across large geographical distances, or a great distance away from the location of the researcher. Questionnaires are often used to overcome this problem. However, they provide answers that are limited in length and depth and do not facilitate an understanding of the respondents interpretation of his or her experience. This study required a rich source of data on the experience of being involved in sport. Consequently, questionnaires were not an adequate means of overcoming the limitations of

distance and organization that was more accessible was chosen.

The West City Track and Field Club[13] (WCTFC) was selected because it best met the requirements of the study. The small size of the organization (approx. 80 members) made it easily accessible and manageable for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, the researcher had some experience with the organization as well as track and field in general. This provided a knowledge base that contributed to many aspects of the study, such as the development of the interview schedule, selecting appropriate interviewees, and gaining access to organizational documents.

Selection of Interviewees

Practical reasons related to time and manageability of the data made it necessary to identify those individuals that would be able to provide information that was immediately relevant to the proposed study. Several characteristics of the proposed study were important in this regard.

Firstly, this study was primarily aimed at obtaining information regarding the experiences of organizational membership of a broad range of individuals. In this regard it was important that the respondents selected for the interviews represent the variety of roles and positions within the organization. It was important, as outlined in chapter one, that this study, unlike previous studies involving sport organizations, have a focus that included respondents who were not directly involved in decision making as well those individuals who were involved.

Secondly, in order to allow as complete an analysis of the sub-problem area of hierarchy and control within the organization as possible, preference in selection was given to individuals who had maintained a long time involvement — greater than two years — with the organization. Such individuals were more likely to have had experiences which would illustrate the impact of different forms of control on their ability to realize their purpose or purposes in

[13] At the request of the organization's Board of Directors pseudonyms were used to preserve the anonymity of the club and the individuals who were the focus of this study

joining the organization.

In keeping with the above considerations, 15 club members were interviewed. This sample of individuals was comprised of three (two male and one female) of the four coaches in the WCTFC that met the requirement of longevity of membership in the organization. It was not possible to interview all the coaches because one coach was outside of the country during the course of this study and unavailable. In addition to the coaches, one administrator (female) and eleven athletes (five females and six males) were also interviewed. The sample of athletes included no less than two and no more than four individuals who trained under the supervision of any one of the four coaches. The minimum age for participation in the study was 16 because it was unlikely that athletes younger than this age would have been involved with the association for a length of time that was necessary for them to contribute useful data to the study.

Interviews were conducted in a variety of locations. These locations were: the home of the researcher, an office at the University of Alberta, and the homes of two of the respondents. The interviews lasted anywhere from a minimum of forty-five minutes to a maximum of two hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. It should be noted that the interview of one athlete was partially spoiled due to an undetermined failure of the recording equipment that was used. Responses to two of the three question areas were lost or inaudible. This loss of data was not felt to be significant.

C. Data Gathering Techniques Used in this Study

The In-depth Interview

This study was concerned with investigating the experience of membership within a sport organization with an emphasis on the meanings of sport. Several attributes of the in-depth interview suggested that it was the most appropriate data gathering technique for this study in view of its aim to achieve a rich understanding of the experience of organizational membership.

Several advantages associated with the in-depth interview are noted in the literature on social research techniques. One major advantage of this technique is that it allows the researcher to 'dig deeper' and obtain a richer understanding than other survey methods (Moser and Kalton 1972: 299). It is a research technique that allows the investigator to acquire information about reactions and responses to past events.

In-depth interviews also tend to yield more data than other survey research techniques such as questionnaires and telephone interviews. A number of factors contribute to the increased amount of data accumulation. In-depth interviews do not restrict the type of questions that can be asked and consequently do not limit the type of data obtained. Furthermore, in-depth interviews can facilitate better responses to questions. Since there are few restrictions on what can be asked or how a question is asked the interviewer is able to explore as much as possible within the topics to be covered. This ensures that there will be a minimal number of "don't knows", "no answers", or "misinterpreted questions". In addition, increased data accumulation is facilitated by the fact that the in-depth interview may be considerably longer than other survey research instruments such as the telephone interview, or the questionnaire. Individuals are much more likely to complete a ninety minute interview than they are to complete a telephone survey or questionnaire requiring the same length of time for completion. The fact that the explanatory and exploratory nature of this study required as much information concerning the experience of being involved with the organization as it was possible to obtain, gave further support to the use of the in-depth interview.

Finally, the in-depth interview allows the researcher to make observations about the respondents. For example, non-verbal responses (i.e. nervousness, hesitancy, or adding emphasis) or attempts by the respondent to skirt particular topics yielded information that supplemented verbal responses. For example, during the interviews which took place in this study, a number of repondents raised their voices and banged their fists against a desk when replying to some of the questions. A note was made of these responses and they were analysed in conjunction with other relevant information that was felt to yield important supplemental

information. In addition, the occurences of these behaviors were noted in the analysis when it was appropriate, i.e., in the case of quotations taken from the interview data.

There are two major types of disadvantages associated with in-depth interviews. The first disadvantage relates to validity. It is sometimes difficult to check the data obtained from interviews for validity because they may not be verifiable. A respondent's subjectivity may influence the response given to the questions put forward by the interviewer. Cole describes this problem as follows:

> The subject may give the interviewer answers that he or she believes the interviewer wants to hear, or the subject's perception of "reality" may be severely distorted, or there may be significant descrepancies between the attitudes of the subject and the subject's behaviour (1980: 101).

However, as Cole also pointed out later, these problems can be overcome by interviewing as many different subjects familiar with the topic as possible making certain to ask each one a set of similar, if not identical, questions whenever possible. This was done during the course of this study. Any responses that could not be verified by means of another's responses, through organizational documents, or the researcher's observations of their activity, were noted and disqualified from the data analysis.

The second major problem with the in-depth interview is reactive measurement error. A respondent's knowledge that he or she is part of a research process may cause that individual to respond according to a role deemed by him or her to be appropriate. The most common techniques used to overcome this problem are guaranteeing anonymity and putting the respondent at ease. Both these techniques were employeed to minimize this source of error. Unfortunately, neither of these methods have been shown to completely eliminate this problem.

Collection of Organizational Documents

Organizational documents were also used as a data source in this study (a list of these documents appears later). These documents were primarily used to provide information related to the structural characteristics of the organization. The information obtained from these documents was analyzed in conjunction with the data obtained from the interviews as a

means of examining the relationship between the formal rules and regulations of the organization and the experience of being involved with it.

One of the greatest advantages of organizational documents is that they are inexpensive with respect to both time and money. As a result, research using this type of data source can be undertaken on a relatively small budget. This minimized the need for concern regarding the effects that unforseen financial constraints may have brought to bear on this research. The collection of documents also has the advantage of being a very unobtrusive research technique. The researcher seldom, if ever, has an effect on the items of study. This directly contrasts the in-depth interview in which reactive measurement is high due to the effects of the presence of the researcher.

The major disadvantage associated with this sort of data source is the fact that it is dependent on availability and that the information available is limited to that which exists in a recorded form. Thus when selecting the organization that was to provide the data for this study the reseacher had to be certain that the organization which was finally selected was willing to allow him access to the documents deemed necessary to the study. Another disadvantage of organizational documents is that they may contain a large amount of information that is not suited, or is irrelevant, to the needs of the researcher. Sorting through large amounts of information requires a great deal of time. Finally, organizational and other documents, inasmuch as they are secondary sources of data, can present problems associated with reliability and validity. These problems were overcome in the same manner as they were dealt with in regard to in-depth interviews. Data contained in documents can be verified by cross-referencing with information obtained from interviews, other documents, and in some cases observations.

Observation

A component of field research was included in this study. This consisted of the technique of direct observation. In this regard observation involved purposeful and selective watching and listening. The researcher's involvement in track and field placed him in contact

with many of the WCTFC members on a daily basis. The researcher took advantage of this situation and on several occasions observed the behavior of the WCTFC members with which he came in contact, making notes of observations that seemed relevant to this study. Observation was used in a limited capacity in this study. During the course of the study the reseacher was able to observe the interaction between club members that took place during their training sessions and during a meeting of the Club's Board of Directors. In addition, the researcher was able, on a number of occasions, to observe one particular individual as he executed a number of administrative tasks which were relevant to the activities of the WCTFC.

Some, but not all, of the individuals that were observed during the course of this study were aware that the organization was the focus of a study. However, it was very unlikely that they were ever aware that the observations of their activity would be part of this study. Frequent contact with the members of the club was a regular and routine part of the researcher's daily life, consequently, these individuals had little reason to suspect their interaction was being closely scrutinized and recorded for research purposes.

Information arising from observations was collected in the form of field notes. These field notes were analyzed in conjunction with other data collected during the study. These notes provided the researcher with an additional means of checking the validity and reliability of responses obtained during the interviews.

D. Topics Addressed in the Interviews

The themes that were covered in the focused interviews were primarily concerned with the sub-problem areas of the study: the and design of execution of tasks within the organization, the experience of hierarchy and control, and the exposure to values and ideas that took place within the organization. An open-ended type of interview schedule was used. Below is an outline of the questions that were used to guide the interviews.

1. **Design and Method of Execution of Tasks**

   a. How did you first become involved in track and field?

b. How and why did you become a member of the organization?

c. What is it that you do in your organization?

d. Describe how your track and field involvement is organized?

- In detail describe the different ways you participate.
- How is your training organized?
- Why have you maintained a long term commitment to track and field?
- What, if any, are your responsibilities to this organization?

2. **Hierarchy and Control**

a. Who makes decisions concerning different aspects of your participation?

b. What do you hope to accomplish or gain via your association with this organization?

c. What sorts of resources do you feel are necessary for you to achieve the above goals?

- Are these resources made readily available to you through the organization?
- How are you able to access the resources made available through the organizaton?

d. How successful do you feel you have been in achieving or getting closer to your goals?

- How has the organization contributed to the attainment of your goals, positively or negatively?

e. Are their any regulations within your club that you feel need to be modified? How would you go about trying to change them?

f. Which groups or individuals do you feel have the most power to make decisions regarding the rules which affect you with regard to:

- i.e. team selection, funding, program availability, access to other resources?

g. Who do you feel should have the power to do the things listed above?

3. **Values and Ideas**

a. What is the responsibility of the organization?

b. What does the organization expect from you as a member?

- Do you consider these to be reasonable expectations? Explain.

c. What are the major issues facing the organization?

- Describe the program focus of the organization?
- What do you think about the value of paying coaches and administrators for the work they do on behalf of the organization?
- Tell me about the role of government in your sport and in your organization.
- How do you feel about the usage of "scientific training" apparatus (i.e. treadmills, eletronic muscle stimulators, psychological tests) in your sport?

d. What was your most important reason for deciding to join this club as opposed to another similar organization in the city?

E. Organizational and Other Relevant Documents

As a means of collaborating the responses obtained from the interviews, a number of documents were obtained and examined with regard to this study.

1. The constitution(s) and by-laws of the organization.
2. The current policy manual of the organization.
3. Minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors held between November 1985 and November 1986.
4. The minutes of the Annual General Meetings held in 1984, 1985 and 1986.

F. Analysis and Treatment of the Data

The data obtained through the techniques outlined above were analysed using a latent content analysis process (cf. Burton and Dale 1984). The data collected were coded into categories and sub-categories. The main coding categories were provided by the sub-problem areas of the study. Sub-categories were developed in accordance with the topic areas and patterns that emerged during and after data collection. Information pertaining to each of the sub-problem areas was extracted from the aggregate data obtained from the interviews and placed in a file set aside for each sub-problem area and indexed according to the sub-categories which were identified. As each section of the results of the study was compiled,

these files were consulted and evaluated in conjunction with relevant field notes, organizational documents, and the theoretical framework of the study to form the basis of the observations and conclusions of this study.

Chapter IV

The Experience of Organizational Membership in the West City Track and Field Club

A. Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the nature of the experience of membership within the West City Track and Field Club (WCTFC). The findings of the research will be discussed under headings which correspond to the three sub-problem areas of the study and the modalities of structuration put forward by Giddens' theory of structuration:

1. *The design and methods of execution of tasks in the WCTFC* - under this heading the focus was on the accounts which actors gave concerning what they do as members of the organization. This type of data made it possible to gain some insight into the modality of interpretive schemes described by Giddens (1979, 1986) by identifying the background assumptions, meanings and sense making that informs the understanding that individuals have of their activities. Salaman (1979), for example, examined work organizations in a similar manner and was able to discover, many assumptions in modern work design that influenced the structuring of various tasks in these organizations. Similarly, the aim of this study was to discover the assumptions and beliefs that underlie the design and execution of the tasks in the WCTFC.
2. *Hierarchy and control in the WCTFC*- the focus here concerned identifying patterns of power and domination that exist in the WCTFC. This conforms to the analysis of the modality of facility which mediates the patterns of power and domination which illustrate the extent of hierarchy and control. This analysis focuses on the ability of the members of the WCTFC to reach the desired outcomes which, either in whole or in part, motivated them to become members of the organization. Here the concern is not only with how access to rules and resources, as structures, constrain efforts to reach certain outcomes, but also with how they enable individuals to realize certain objectives.
3. *The exposure to values and ideas in the WCTFC* - in this section further comments will be made about the structures that exist in the WCTFC and the experience of being a member

of this organization. Attention will be given to the impact of the normative behavior associated with competing values and beliefs on the structuring of the organization. This takes into account the third modality of structuration put forward by Giddens, that of norms. Examining this in conjunction with the material presented in the first two parts of this presentation will reveal some of the forces which have shaped the types of rules and regularized practices which make up the structure of the organization and which are relevant to its future structuring.

Prior to begining an indepth discussion and analysis of the results of this study it is important to comment on some of the distinguishing characteristics of the WCTFC. It is essential that the reader be made aware of these characteristics in order to understand the content of the analysis that will be presented and the context in which the analysis took place. Giddens (1979, 1984) has emphasized the importance of time, and space to the study of society as these elements have much bearing on the structuring of social systems. I shall not have much to say in this regard beyond identifying the time and geographic location of the organization which was studied. This is not to suggest these are trivial concerns. Nothing could be further from the truth. Nontheless, time and space analysis goes beyond the scope of this study. They are noted so that future invesitgators will have an explicit, albeit general, indication of the characteristics of the organization and when and where the events described in this study took place.

B. West City Track and Field Club, 1986

The WCTFC is one of many track and field clubs located in the city of Edmonton, Alberta. First formed in the early 1970's, the WCTFC has slowly grown to a membership of approximately 100 individuals who have joined primarily because they are athletes, coaches, or parents of athletes. In the late 1970's the club became formally incorporated as a non-profit organization with the Alberta Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. The by-laws of the WCTFC list the following as it's objects:

1. To encourage participation in track and field events by its members.

2. To strive towards recognized standards in track and field and to promote good sportsmanship among competitors as well as striving to achieve a high calibre of performance.
3. To provide for the recreation of the members and to promote and afford opportunities for friendly and social activities.

The affairs of the club are managed by a ten person Board of Directors comprised of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, Technical Director, Past-President and four members at large. The members at large are made up of one parent and three athlete representatives. The club's constitutions and by-laws stated that "Membership in the WCTFC is open to any person who has reached the age of 12 years and as otherwise is acceptable to the Technical Director[14]". In addition, it was noted that, "prior to acceptance into the club on a permanent basis, athletes must demonstrate, over a reasonable period of time, their willingness to train and work out for an acceptable time each week" (WCTFC By-Laws: 2).

C. The Design and Methods of Execution of Tasks within the WCTFC

To begin the analysis of the experience of membership within the WCTFC I will focus on the first sub-problem of the study: the design and methods of execution of tasks within the WCTFC. In chapter 2 it was suggested that investigating this sub-problem area would provide insight into the modality of interpretive schemes described by Giddens (1979) as the background assumptions, meanings, and sense-making that informs an actor's understanding of what he or she does within a particular environment. Salaman has pointed out that one can begin to discover information about the power and domination that exists within an organization through this sort of analysis. He noted that,

> It is in the design of work within organisations that the real goals of those who own or dominate the organisation are apparent. These may of course contradict official, public organisational statements. And it is very usual for the purposes and priorities which are apparent in the design of work — the meaning of organisational structure — to be defined by senior organisational members, or to be defined as going beyond, or being indifferent to, goals and interests (1979: 86).

[14] No where was any indication given concerning the criteria that governed what was acceptable to the technical director.

Consequently, the analysis that will take place in this section will not focus very specific details of the activities undertaken by each group of individuals. Rather, it will be more concerned with the impressions, and the reasons given by these individuals concerning why certain tasks were undertaken and performed in a particular manner.

A general impression of the tasks executed on a day-to-day basis in the WCTFC was gained through observation of the club's daily activity, interviews with club members, and document analysis. Not surprisingly, the execution of tasks in the WCTFC centered around the daily training programs of its athlete members. This was without a doubt the key focus of the activities of the club and is reflected by the fact that athletes make up the overwhelming majority of its membership. The club's intended focus on the athlete is also reflected in its stated objective of encouraging its members to participate in track and field and to strive towards achieving high calibre performance. Since this was the case, the tasks involved in being an athlete or being a coach became the key focus of this study. Also important to the organization's operation were a number of tasks that centered around administration. Administration, although important to the fucntioning of the organization, comprised a much smaller component of the club's operations and consequently, received less attention from the members. At first glance it may appear that in focusing the investigation primarily on athletes and coaches this could very well leave the administrative aspects of the organization's operations unexplored. However, there was a considerable amount of overlap in roles. Athletes and coaches comprised approximately one third of the Board of Directors. This made it possible to gain quite a bit of information about the administrative aspects of the club.

With these points in mind I will proceed with the findings which relate to this sub-problem area under three sub-headings. The sub-headings correspond to the three main task areas that existed in the WCTFC:

1. The task of being an athlete: this consists of training and competing;
2. The task of being a coach: this consists of designing and supervising the training programs of the athletes;
3. The task of being an administrator: this consists of such things as bookkeeping, record

keeping, decision making, policy formulation, etc.

As the main purpose of the investigation into this sub-problem area was to gain an understanding of the basic assumptions, meanings, and sense-making that informs each group of actors' understanding of what they do, the analyses that follow touch on two areas. First, the activities in which the actors are involved will be discussed. Second, I will also consider the factors that had an impact on how these activities were designed and executed.

The Design and Execution of the Task of Being an Athlete in the WCTFC

The task of being an athlete in the WCTFC involved four activities which can be considered under two headings. These activities were, 1) training and competing, and 2) assisting in the fund-raising activities, and (if desired) assisting in the administration of club. Below I will consider factors pertinent to the design and execution of each activity. In each case I will begin with a description of how the task was designed and executed. In conjunction with this I will also examine the basic asumptions, meanings, and sense-making that informs what these actors did. The reasons individuals give for doing what they do often reveals the sense-making and meaning upon which the design and execution of the task is based. An understanding of these factors provides for a richer understanding of the experience of being involved in a sport organization than the mere description of behavior.

Training and Competing:

The overwhelming majority of an athlete's involvement in the WCTFC centered around the training and conditioning undertaken to improve athletic performance. Thus, when asked to describe what they do on a day-to-day basis, the athletes in the WCTFC referred to their training regime. The training an athlete did on any given night depended largely upon the coach he or she trained under and the event in which he or she aspired to excel. There were four coaches in the WCTFC and the content of training sessions varied according to the coach with which an athlete worked. The four different areas the coaches dealt with were: middle and long distance running, sprinting, throwing, and multiple events.

The basic similarities and differences in the day-to-day training and conditioning of the athletes are best expressed by their own descriptions of what they did. Teddy, a member of the distance group described his day-to-day involvement as follows:

> Well, as you know we go out every day at 5 o'clock. This is the format just before indoor season. We generally start training about late August or early September after about a month break or however long depending on how long our outdoor season was. We start at about that time and a group of us, probably around an average of about 10 a day, it is usually different people. I'm out there everyday.
>
> We meet at 5 o'clock (and) we go and do our workout. We'll have a warm-up first, stretch, and we'll go for a jog generally. Then we'll do our workout. It's during the warm-up that we can talk and socialize and everything, but when we are just doing our workout it's generally pretty serious and we just try to get it done. Afterwards, depending on everybody's individual schedule, we might sit around and talk for 15 minutes to a half hour while we warm-down or just take-off. We talk about school, training, the future meets, or whatever comes up.

Not all the athletes in the middle distance group followed the above regime. Teddy's comment about different people attending group workouts indicates that individuals often attended group training sessions on a drop-in basis. Middle distance running is regarded as a simple skill which requires a minimal amount of supervision. Consequently, middle distance runners often chose to train entirely by themselves without supervision. Some athletes coached by the middle distance coach opted for this alternative approach and shied away from the group setting. These athletes are the "different people" that Teddy mentioned sometimes showed up at training sessions.

In the other groups, training on one's own seemed to be less acceptable if it could be avoided. More emphasis was put on meeting at a regular time each day and not beginning a workout until everyone in the training group, who was expected, had shown up. While the actual detail of what was done by any group varied, the pattern of what was done was generally the same. The coaches met with their athletes at a specific time and place each day. Before and after the training session there was a fair amount of social activity which ceased during the central or main portion of the session. The variety of approaches that the coaches brought to the actual training sessions was described by Gwen, a sprinter who had trained under three different coaches during her involvement with the WCTFC.

> Well, I had three different coaches and each one has been completely different than the other [Sic]. Like day and night. I started with a distance coach, so we did more distance running than anything. That was with Mr. Andrews. He was

> really good. I was a sprinter then but we did more distance stuff. Then Tamara came along and she was kind of a middle distance person trying to fit sprinters' workouts in on the side. You know she'd come up with a work out, a sprinter one, and we'd try it one day. Elliot my last coach was complete sprint.
>
> Tamara was more person oriented, if that makes sense. With Elliot it was, "Here is the workout, go do it". He didn't gear it towards the individual. "Leslie is doing six repetitions of 800 meters, so you do the same," is what he'd tell you. Tamara might tell you to do the same thing, but tell you to stop if after the first 3 you're dead. As with Elliot, you had to do all six, and you don't stop unless you've done them.
>
> Generally, workouts are the same. You go to the track, you warm-up, do strides, then you do the work out.

Generally, the descriptions given by Teddy and Gwen illustrate what you could observe if you arrived at either of the track sites where the WCTFC members trained, on any given night between 5:00 and 7:00 p.m. You would have seen the WCTFC athletes scattered around the track area in their training groups with their coaches.

The reasons that athlete's gave for taking part in these types of activities revealed a number of aspects of the experience of being an athlete. That is, they revealed some of the motives that drove them to participate in track and field, and some of the constraints that had an impact on their ability to maintain continued involvement in the sport. Athletes were asked to describe why they were involved in the execution of the primary task associated with being an athlete — that of training and competing. They were also asked to describe what they hoped to accomplish and why they had maintained their involvement over a long period of time.

Responses given by athletes to the question regarding how and why they had chosen to take on this activity in the first place shared some common elements. Responses to the latter question, about why they had maintained their involvement, varied almost in a direct relationship with the amount of the time the athlete had been involved in track and field. With regard to patterns of initial involvement, most athletes received their first exposure to track and field during high school. If first exposure had not occured in high school it occured due to the influence of another family member's interest in track and field. Trevor, one the sprinters interviewed, recalled the circumstances leading up to his involvement as follows:

> Basically, I got involved in track and field back in grade 8, in junior high. That was the first time I went out for the school track team. We used to have County Championships out in Sherwood Park and I went out for the school track team there.

> That was my first year. It wasn't anything serious. It was just sort of a sport to do. I was fast so I thought, "Well go do a sport," so I tried track. I enjoyed it my first year. Then the second year I won the County Championships out there. That sort of boosted my confidence and got me more interested in it, seeing I was doing well in high school. I did a bunch of different sports, it wasn't just track and field. Track and field was just one of the sports I did. I played basketball, a little bit of rugby. I ran track and I sort of got involved with the WCTFC in grade 11 or grade 12. I started getting a little more serious with my track. I won provincials in grade 11, and in grade 12 I finished second. I was a little more serious then. I was playing soccer too, in a league. But when I came to university I sort of cut out everything else and concentrated on just track.

The above quotation is characteristic of most accounts of individuals who linked their involvement to their school experiences. In a couple of instances athletes referred to their family's influence in their involvement. One example of this, although a little extreme perhaps, was an athlete who spoke of track and field as being "in her blood":

> I got involved because our family has always been a track family. Mostly distance runners though. Way back in the early 70's I remember going to the field house every Thursday night. They had meets, when I was about ten years old. And they'd say okay today you're going to run half a lap. They wouldn't tell you if it was a 100 meters or 200 meters, it was just half a lap, a whole lap, from this line to that line. Every Thursday night we went. I used to watch them hand out WCTFC tops and want one, but they never gave me one. Then in high school I started doing well in track in grade 10. It was probably my sister who told me that I should train with a club. Naturally, it had to be the WCTFC. It's in my blood.

The athletes that were interviewed in this study ranged in age from 18 to 25 years of age. Most had been involved in track and field with the WCTFC for anywhere from 3 to 5 years whereas their involvement in track and field in general had, in a number of cases, been over ten years. Those athletes who had been involved in track and field for the least number of years, i.e., less than five years, attributed their dedication to training and competing to their enjoyment of the sport and a desire to improve their performance. In almost all instances athletes said they selected track and field over other sports because it was the sport in which they had the most potential to excel. A few other athietes added another reason related to the structure of track and field, as the following quotation indicates:

> I found I had my best potential in track and field. I was good at soccer. But, you know, I think a lot had to do with the individual aspect of track and field. I enjoyed basketball and I enjoyed playing soccer. I wasn't great at basketball. I was real good at soccer. Yet, I felt that track was more, like you make the decisions on how far you can really go without relying on other players and other teammates to sort of achieve the goal. It's you and your coach and it's up to you whether you want to put yourself into this. I think that had a lot to do with it. Plus . . . the potential was there so I thought of pursuing this avenue.

The above comment gives further support to some of the arguments presented in the first chapter of this thesis. There it was suggested that two sorts of meanings motivate individuals to act. These meanings were either of a private or public nature. The private meaning of concrete activity, such as sport, encompasses a sense of self-mastery and power inasmuch as sport can be regarded as an activity which allows human agents a capacity for change and self-change. The above statement indicates that this sort of meaning was an important motivator as far as becoming involved in the activity of being an athlete in the WCTFC was concerned. Also important were social considerations related to an objective goal embedded in social relations, that goal being the production of improved track and field performance. That the design and execution of tasks in the WCTFC was influenced by this principle is clearly illustrated by the club's objective to strive towards recognized standards. However, the athletes' comments indicate that their affinity towards, or acceptance of, this principle existed before their entry into the club.

While the sense of mastery and associated desire to perform were enough to motivate the relatively young and the newcomers to the sport, these considerations, especially the latter, had less impact on older athletes. For the older athletes, who had spent close to 10 years in the sport, continued involvement for the sole purpose of improved performance was difficult to rationalize. Three of the athletes interviewed had been involved for close to 10 years. All three were re-assessing their commitment to training and competing as well as the other tasks they performed as athletes. Each individual was at a different stage in the process of reassessment. One had decided to end his involvement completely. He had "gotten tired of track". His interest had dropped off and there were other things he wanted to do. Another athlete's commitment to school was making it impossible for her to train on a regular basis. This, combined with some problems with a recurring injury and her concerns about administrative shortcomings in the WCTFC, placed her in a position where she was not certain if she wanted to continue track and field even it became possible in the near future. Finally, the third athlete in this position, admitted that over the years her attitude had been changing. Although, she continued to participate in the activities of the WCTFC, she had

some reservations concerning the value of belonging to the club and continuing on in track and field in general. This is how she described her changing feelings:

> Initially, I had dreams. I wanted to be on the national team. I mean when I was a kid, like I think in secondary school, even high school, I'd watch these meets on T.V. and I'd see all these athletes with "Canada" written on their backs. I'd think, "Oh, wouldn't that be great." That's what I thought, even if it was only one tour or something, I thought that would be the ultimate. That was an ultimate goal to represent your country.
>
> Now I have a much more relaxed attitude. I am going to train because I enjoy it. I believe in the training I am doing and whatever becomes of it. I don't want to get too wrapped up with it. I don't want to get too wrapped up with certain meets, is this a selection meet and is this? If I am having a shitty race, I am having a shitty race. If I don't, I don't. If I have a good one well great. Obviously I want too. You know my last season or two hasn't been that great I haven't been very pleased with it. I'd like to, I mean I still have certain goals I would like to accomplish. I think it would be a great accomplishment to have myself break 2 minutes in the 800 meters. If that means I make a team on top of that, great. If I don't that's okay too because I know there's a lot of political stuff that goes on too, and I wish not to get involved with any of it. It's become more for myself. Yeah, I still have certain little goals because I am not satisfied.

All of the comments of the athletes indicated that the design and execution of the tasks they confronted embodied very strong assumptions about their intentions. It was assumed that their primary interests could be met through producing high level performances in rigidly defined competitive situations. Whitson (1984: 69) has argued that within sport, as in broader society, productivity has become an end in itself. Consequently, men and women are routinely evaluated in terms of what and how much they produce. The consequence of this has been a rationalization of sport analogous to the rationalization that occured in the work place. As a means of achieving high standards of performance, individuals have had to become increasingly disciplined and standardized in their approach to training and competition. The design and execution of training in the WCTFC reflected the type of productivity-based rationality Whitson (1984) and a number of organizational theorists (cf. Clegg and Dunkerley (1984) and Salaman (1979)) have suggested has led to a large degree of routinization, and specialization that exists in work organizations.

In the WCTFC, training and competing was designed in a manner that enabled coaches to control and supervise it very closely. This ensured that training was executed properly, i.e., in the manner intended by each coach, and in a manner consistent with the goal of improving athletic performance. Training was also routinized to a degree. Athletes reported

that the design of the training that took place on any given day depended upon the time of year or season. The fall season was comprised of base training which athletes cited as being very demanding but necessary. In winter the focus was on indoor competitions. In the spring activity was aimed at the restoration of the fall fitness levels. Finally, in the Summer came the main competition focus. Individual sessions were also routine They consisted of "warm-up" activity, the "main part", and warm-down. The actual details of what was done during each phase of these sessions did vary to a degree. This variation usually reflected the time of year and "phase" of training. Specialization was also a characteristic of the task of training. Athletes trained in groups based upon specialized categories of middle to long distance running, sprints, throws, and jumps.

Administration and Fundraising:

Beyond training and competing, the majority of athletes performed few other tasks as members of the WCTFC on a day-to-day basis. The remainder of their involvement consisted of attending the club's Annual General Meeting, monthly Board meetings (if they were an athlete representative), and working at the bingos which were organized by the club executive to raise the funds needed to subsidize the costs of being involved in track and field. Most athletes I spoke with found the Annual General Meetings and the Board meetings they attended boring. Even those athletes who were active on the Board had few positive things to say about the value of the meetings they attended. When asked to describe her role as athlete representative in terms of her contribution at Board meetings Gwen responded:

> To tell you the truth they don't ask you about anything. We'd just go to the meetings and sit. I think back and they may as well not even have athlete reps because they don't use them how they should be used.

The task of being an athlete member-at-large required the incubents to attend monthly Board meetings. As members-at-large, athletes were expected to contribute to the discussions and decision making that took place at these meetings. In addition they were also expected to inform the other athletes in the club of the events that took place at these meetings through word of mouth. Inasmuch as athletes reported that they, rarely if ever,

actually fulfilled these expectations, the position of athlete member at large was a non-task position. One athlete offered an explanation for this. He felt that most people believed that if athletes were given some tangible administrative tasks to perform they would have little time to devote to them because of the large amount of time they have to devote to training and other activities that took place outside of the club. No one offered any evidence to support this assumption. Some athletes did have some interest in the club administration but did not feel encouraged to get involved.

Athletes were also required to contribute to the club's fund raising activities. The money required to operate the WCTFC was raised through holding bingos. It was every athlete's responsibility to work at least five bingos each year or face a financial penalty. The whole aspect of bingos raised many feelings during the interviews and even during some of the training sessions which were observed. The controversy surrounding this related in part to the personal feelings that the athletes had about doing them and in part to the club's failure to enforce the rules obligating everyone to take part. Since the latter issue is more of a concern that fits under the sub-problem area of hierarchy and control I shall leave any further discussion of this for later consideration. At this time, however, it is appropriate to discuss the general feelings that athletes had about participating in the fund raising bingos.

Athletes indicated that having to work at bingos was, by far, the worst part of being a member of the WCTFC. At best, athletes tolerated them because they believed bingos were the most efficient, easiest to administer, and most effective way of raising the money needed in order for the club to function. Even so, everyone dreaded them as is illustrated by the comments below:

> I hate bingos with a passion! I dread them, but I know I must do them, and we make money (laughter). It's our main source of income for the club. You have to do them. I have to work a bingo tomorrow, the thought of going and sitting in this bingo hall from 11:30 to 4:30 does not thrill me at all. There's my day, there's half my weekend right there. . . . I console myself, I say that I know that many people from other sport organizations, they do the same thing. They have to go work bingos, I have to go work bingos. The club makes a lot of money. We all benefit from it in the end. Ah, you the make the most out of it when you get there.

Another athlete commented, "I hate them because you are subjected to smoke for 4 hours and are practically forced to work them." One individual who offered some personal feeling about

the whole idea of bingos noted, "I mean bingos, period, are stupid. The way it works these days is . . . it's the only way an institution like a track club can make money. I think bingos are an exploitation of the poor (laughs)."

By taking on the task of working at a bingo, athletes contributed to the financial resources of the club. These resources were used to reduce the financial costs of competition. Despite their distaste for working at bingos, athletes preferred them to the alternative types of fundraising activities they felt were available to them. Bingos required little organization and yielded a large amount of revenue in proportion to that effort. Organization and adminstration were not strengths as far as WCTFC was concerned, consequently, bingos suited most athletes as a simple means of getting the money they needed for competitions. Furthermore, assumptions that athletes had no interest, time, or abilities, to devote to administration promoted a sense of apathy towards administrative activities among athletes.

The Design and Execution of the Task of Being a Coach in WCTFC

Like the athlete, the majority of a coach's time was spent on training programs. However, coaching relates not only to the execution of the training program but also to its development. Consequently, being a coach is quite a different experience than that of being an athlete. In addition to the time spent at the track, coaches spent a considerable amount of time preparing workouts and planning the long term programs for athletes. In order to get a sense of the how, what, and why of their activities I asked the coaches to describe what their role involved on a day-to-day basis. Coaches were also asked to give some reasons as to why they were involved in coaching and describe how they became involved and what they hoped to accomplish.

As noted above by the athletes, each coach had his or her own approach to training programs and designing workouts. Although the WCTFC did have some guidelines concerning the responsibilities of coaches, these guidelines did not concern how training programs were designed or made available to the athletes. Coaches had considerable control over the design and execution of their tasks. These tasks focused on developing and supervising the training

programs of the athletes, on a day-to-day basis. A number of factors influence each coach's ability to deliver the sort of training program they were able to make available to their athletes. The WCTFC coaches were all volunteers. As volunteers these individuals needed to balance their coaching commitments against other committments in their lives such as full-time jobs and families. The impact that maintaining a full-time job and raising a family had on the way in which coaches organized their tasks is significant as is indicated by their descriptions of what they did. Also significant to the design of their tasks was the number of athletes with which they were required to deal. Having to deal with a large number of athletes at various levels of athletic development also posed problems for coaches. The impact of all these factors on the design and execution of the tasks they performed as coaches is illustrated by their descriptions of what they did.

I spoke with one coach who found it particularly frustrating when having to deal with this balance of work, family, and coaching. In part his frustration can be explained through his expectations regarding how coaching should be rewarded. Previous to being with the WCTFC Murray had been coaching in another country and was paid to coach full-time. In Canada however, the opportunity to coach track and field as a vocation was not readily available. This is because in Canada track and field coaching has essentially been regarded as an activity which can be left in the hands of volunteers. With different ideas about the value and importance of quality track and field coaching, Murray had several concerns about the constraints with which he had to deal when designing his coaching activities. He was working full time to support, himself, his wife, and his son. As a coach he hoped to develop some athletes into competitors of international calibre. He knew from his previous experience that as a volunteer coach he was competing against individuals in other countries who were employed, as he himself once was, to coach full-time. He also saw himself up against limited access to necessary training equipment and facilities. Murray described his concerns as follows:

> I've been coaching all my life and I am going through some kind of frustration. To make my living I have to do a really different type of work. Through doing the coaching stuff with really talented athletes in Canada I am not really able to obtain any satisfactory money. Even if I would be a millionaire I would coach only for my

> own satisfaction but I also need a little money. And the money I am getting from my work is not enough for me still, so I expect to get some money for coaching to. It's a tough situation. . .
>
> I never, even in Lutonia, were I was working on a full-time basis as a coach, I never though about this profession as a money maker or making a living from this profession. . . . I have lots of personal feelings that I want this profession because I like this profession. It doesn't matter what money I am getting for this profession, I will work this way only because this is the best way for me. In Canada I see I. . . I am trying to think. I have a hard time at home too because my wife knows that I am working 8 hours a day and I get money for 8 hours with no money for the coaching and I am spending lots of time. I mean it's no money and I could earn that money getting some part-time job and giving up coaching. This kind of talk occurs frequently at home. It's not possible to get good money for this coaching so why don't you go to part-time job for $7.00 per hour and give up coaching.

Economic and family constraints raise questions concerning the accessibility of the task of coaching to working class individuals. These type of people have family responsibilities that make it very difficult, if not impossible, for them to become involved in such activities when they require a large ongoing commitment. For them economic and family considerations present a barrier to their involvement with sport. They also have impact on the quality of the coaching that they can make available to the athletes. Coaches stressed the importance of personal contact and communication to successful coaching. Full-time jobs and family responsibilities limited the amount of contact coaches could have with their athletes. The coaches believed that daily contact with their athletes and supervision of their training programs was essential for them to be successful. However, their life situations made this impossible for them. The comments from another coach demonstrate the impact of these constraints as well as the concern or perceived importance of personal contact and communication to successful coaching. Here is what Sid had to say about his day-to-day involvement:

> The preparation that I do for my athletes is a lot different from the ideal situation, but in my environment it's the only acceptable approach, the only feasible approach at this time unless I change my lifestyle in such a manner that would allow me come out to practices seven days a week without interruption. It's quite possible that could change in the future, but right now I have limited myself to not coaching athletes that are in junior high school or less. I won't accept athletes that are that age. At one time I did, and it was just a complete embarassment because these people needed a lot of attention, and I can't give them any. Consequently, I left some of these younger athletes with perhaps not the best feelings about track and field. . . . That's why I've restricted myself to senior athletes. Actually I prefer to coach age class athletes, if the opportunity presented itself where I could give them the attention they need. The reason for that is that these younger athletes see more improvement, they see more excitement, and you can mould their love of the sport a

> lot better than you can if they're older. With the athletes themselves I spend as much time as possible with them on the track because my time is spread into a number of areas, and I don't spend as much time with them as I used to, or as I would like to. I used to conduct two major interviews with my athletes a year lasting thirty minutes, and I used to also maintain five minute interviews in a setting away from the track. This is what I've been doing for the last two or three years, but now things have made it impossible or close to impossible. It just got to the point where this year I could only selectively interview people for thirty minutes, and only those people that in my mind had not the talent but the desire to go a long way.
>
> That's probably the most valuable tool that I have as a coach. . . .

Sid's description of his involvement indicated a very personal committment to his athletes. There was an emphasis on regular and detailed communication. This was the means through which he ascertained whether or not he was contributing to the expectations that the athletes had concerning their involvement with him. The same holds true for the other coaches I spoke with. All of them described that personal contact, communication, and exchanging ideas about the training situations were important parts of what they did as coaches. With another coach, Tamara, her desire to understand and meet the needs and expectations of her athletes, seemed to outweight any other considerations related to coaching. From her perspective, every question I asked her about her coaching necessitated a response which drew upon her relationship with one athlete or another, or an athlete's special needs. For her, as with Sid it was important that every athlete receive a certain amount of attention, however, it was difficult to deliver this attention.

This strong emphasis on personal contact between athletes and coaches led to a high degree of bonding between them. This bonding would seem to explain the tendancy of athletes to attribute the majority of their successes to their coach. Little recognition was given to any efforts that may have in fact been more attributable to the club and the collective effort of its membership.

The coaches were also asked to discuss how they had become involved in coaching and some of the things they hoped to achieve as coaches as means of comparing their view of sport with that of the athletes. All the coaches involved with the WCTFC had been track and field athletes earlier on in their lives and it seemed that coaching was a means through which they felt they could continue their involvement with a sport they enjoyed. All referred to the joy of watching the athletes improve over time just as Sid did in his comments above. One

coach remarked that the person who enters the field after having been an athlete tends to think in terms of the athlete first. He remarked, "If you came into coaching by using a book then you more or less take a textbook approach to coaching, and you'll be more insensitive to the needs of your athletes. Consequently, you don't put your athletes first." There appears to be some truth to this statement as the coaches in the WCTFC all went into coaching following careers as athletes, and all designed their coaching in a way that relied heavily upon input from the athletes in their training groups. Having been athletes at one time would mean that these coaches would be more likely to share many common values with their athletes. A common point of view, the frequent contact between athletes and coaches, strong interpersonal relationships, and positive evaluation are factors which contribute to enthusiastic co-operation (Daft 1983: 427-429). These factors were characteristic of the coach athlete relationship and in part explain the cohesiveness that existed between athletes and their coaches. As noted above, athletes attributed a great deal of their success to their coaches. At the same time, however, where this type of cohesion exists between small groups within a larger organizational setting, feelings of alienation which promote conflict when groups interact can emerge. As will become evident, cohesiveness between the different training groups in the WCTFC was lacking. While mainifest conflict was not a characteristic of the WCTFC, neutral cooperation and latent conflict characterized by grumbling and uneasiness were often encountered. For example, there were feelings among some groups that other groups were being favored with regard to travel opportunities and access to information about competitions.

Coaches also seemed to have the desire to see their athletes someday perform at an international level. At the same time they were also quick to point out that not all athletes aspired to achieve that level of performance and they were careful to meet the athlete's articulated needs before their own. Even in saying this, coaches indicated that they had a tendancy to favor some athletes over others. In most cases they tended to give more time, both overtly or covertly, to those athletes they felt demonstrated the most commitment to the training program. This commitment was evidenced by not missing any of the training sessions

and performing at a high level. This perhaps represented a problem for the athlete who is unable to make regularly scheduled visits to the track for any number of reasons, such as the need to work part-time or to be at home when training takes place. Such an athlete would receive less than the coach's full attention with regard to the development of his or her training program. Consequently, an automatic process of selecting those who had a chance of being sucessful athletes was in operation. Athletes who were students in high school or university were in the best position to meet these sorts of demands. Athletes who were working full-time had a lot of difficulty. Only athletes who had reached a fairly high level of athletic performance (top 10 in Canada) had survived the transition from student athlete to working athlete after more than a year. Hall (1986) and Macintosh and Beamish (1986) have noted that the number of international calibre athletes with one or more post secondary school degrees is substantially higher than that of the population at large. It would seem reasonable to conclude that the way in which coaches execute their coaching tasks contributes to the reproduction of this discrepancy. This factor may also contribute to the reproduction of sport as an upper middle class and high socioeconomic status activity inasmuch as the possession of post secondary education is also linked to social class.

The following excerpt from an interview with Tamara indicates this phenomenon is unintentional, and seen as being unavoidable.

> I've been coaching over 15 years. I've found with large groups . . . some one always gets ignored. You don't mean to have favorite people but you always do, no matter how you try and get away from it and you don't like to do that. I thought last year I was doing quite well with Robert because he was so much higher up than the rest of the kids. I was trying very hard not to show favoritism and it's not really favoritism; sometimes you're just spending a bit more time because he has to do more and he has to work at a different level. And some of the kids say it's always Robert this and Robert that and I said, the first thing that I talked about is, "That you people voted him in as athlete representative so he's always doing all these extra jobs for us, don't complain about that. You voted him in, I didn't."
>
> Then they say, "Well how come he gets to go to this meet?"
>
> And I said, "Because he's running so much faster than any of the rest of you for this meet coming up, why run by himself. He has got to go to a meet that is good for him. He has got a chance to make the national junior team this summer we have to get him ready for that."
>
> "Well, okay."
>
> "And besides I don't know why you're complaining because you're hardly ever out and you don't get to go anywhere if you're not out."
>
> So she says, "Yeah I guess you're right." and since then she hasn't said anything.

> I said to her, "If you want to go places come out and train don't complain to me about Robert this and Robert that when he's out everyday working his butt off and you come here and complain because you are in a bad mood."
>
> You really have to watch that so what I started to do halfway through the season, when Robert did need that extra talking to, I would phone him. I'd just tell him there is something about the practice I have to tell you and then call him later. I'd say, "You need the extra help but I don't want the others to get jealous." I tried to handle that that way.

One thing that becomes clear from the way coaches execute their tasks, is that two things are important to the quality and quantity of coaching attention an athlete will receive from his or her coach. These factors are, his or her ability to regularly attend practice, and the ability to perform at a high level. Once again the significant impact of the performance principle, and the discipline, accountability, and commitment associated with it, on the experience of being involved with the WCTFC is evident. The performance principle stands in direct opposition to the sense of freedom many individuals indicated as the sport's major attraction. However, the ability of an individual to experience this sense of freedom and mastery through participation in track and field depended upon their willingness to measure the success of their sport experience in terms of performance.

This emphasis on the production of performance can be traced to the impact of broader society on sport. Beamish (1982), Ingham and Hardy (1984), Whitson (1984), and others have referred to the impact that dominant social relationships have had on the structuring of sport and the way in which sport in turn contributes to the reproduction and acceptance of these relationships. Whitson in particular, has noted that sporting activities have, through their structuring, incorporated the emphasis on production characteristic of broader society and have become important "institutions in the initiation of many young people into habits of productivity and discipline" (1984: 77). The fact that coaches give more consideration to performance and dedication illustrates that the production imperative has become significant to the structuring of the activities in the WCTFC.

The Design and Execution of the Task of Being an Administrator in the WCTFC.

Within the WCTFC administration appeared to be the least emphasized task, yet, it is the one that was most discussed. When speaking of administration I am referring to those

tasks that are necessary to the operation and delivery of the programs offered by the WCTFC. Specifically, tasks such as communication, bookkeeping, fundraising, recruitment, budgeting, control, and record keeping all fall under this category. These tasks fell into the hands of three Board members; the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Technical Director. Two of these individuals were interviewed. As suggested at the outset of this chapter, while there was some specialization of tasks, some tasks overlapped. Consequently, it was difficult to align specific individuals with specific administrative tasks.

The Board of Directors, as the decision making body of the WCTFC, took care of most of the significant tasks which were bookkeeping, fundraising, record keeping, and communication. With regard to the general operation of the club, record keeping was primarily the responsibility of the Secretary. The Treasurer was responsible for financial matters including bookkeeping and fundraising. The Technical Director was responsible for communicating information to the club membership, co-ordinating the efforts of the coaches, and taking care of the needs of athletes. Specifically, the latter task involved entering them in competitions and arranging for transportation to and from these competitions. These areas represented the major administrative concerns of the WCTFC. Other tasks that emerged from time to time were assigned to other members of the Board. It may be added that communication was also the responsibility of the athlete members at large who sat on the Board. These individuals were expected to provide input concerning matters that directly affected athlete members and to represent their point of view. In addition, they were expected to take information regarding decisions made by the board, that had direct implications for the athlete members, back to their training groups.

Unlike the larger organizations which are more commonly the subject of research, the WCTFC had no felt need or concern with developing a sophisticated administrative system to deal with these needs. It existed with an organic administrative system that functioned to take care of these needs as they presented themselves. The Treasurer and the Technical Director were the only two individuals interviewed that executed any significant administrative tasks. They were asked to described how they executed these tasks and the intentions behind their

involvement.

The WCTFC treasurer was the only individual who was involved in the club solely in an administrative capacity with no other links to the club such as being, a parent of an active athlete, an athlete, or a coach. This individual had been involved with the club longer than any other member of the Board, coach, or athlete with whom I had spoken. Her long time involvement with the WCTFC put her in a position of much respect and influence. Like many individuals who have become involved in the administration of sport organizations, Cindy Jackson got involved because her children were involved in the club[15] and she loved the sport. In our discussion she described her involvement which began when her son joined as follows:

> Robert: So you have been involved for quite a long time.
>
> Cindy: Yes, ten years. . . . One of the things that I like is working with children or teenagers. I do like children and to me it's a great satisfaction to do something for someone who really appreciates it. I think a young child or a young adult they're not capable of going out and raising funds and doing the rest of those sorts of things; therefore, I basically established the fundraising for the club as far as bingos, etc. and a lot of the policy they hate as well. I think I'm a pretty fair person. I've been involved with figure skating for many years, as well.
>
> Robert: So in terms of the club and what it's about, what are some of the things as an administrator that you've been trying to accomplish and establish?
>
> Cindy: We've been trying to establish a good set of books, a good set of rules for the club where they're standard for everyone rather than making a new rule for each individual. To me it's like your family inside your home. You have to make a club that way in order for it to survive and be successful. In anything that you do I think you have to be something that's tied in as a group, that you don't think of yourself as an individual because I think it's a family affair, so you're treating everyone equal.
>
> Robert: . . .Describe for me a little bit of what you do on an ongoing basis administratively, some of the tasks.
>
> Cindy: Administratively I do all the books for the programs, I look after all the money affairs. Any monies expended have to come through me. I either pass it or I'll say no for funding for this, that, or the other. Each year I establish a budget for the following year. It's quite involving in terms of hours.
>
> Robert: Do you work on fundraising?
>
> Cindy: Fundraising is the bingo. Up until two years ago I basically looked after all the fundraising. I looked after the memberships coming in as well as the books. I also did the membership list. I still do the membership list, I do all the bookkeeping, and

[15] Slack (1983) noted that key figures in the administration of the Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Alberta Section, began their involvement because of their children's involvement in swimming.

> I handle all the bingo funds as well, but this year we have someone else in charge of bingos, and Sid partially took that over last year because it was really too much. It was fine when the club was small and I was writing fifty to one hundred cheques a season, but now I probably do a thousand or more entries. It's quite involved. I enjoy bookkeeping that's probably another reason. . . .

Cindy also mentioned he admiration of the athletes. She felt good to be a part of their accomplishments. It was because of her efforts that these athletes were able to attend national and world class meets. She wanted to see them receive what was needed for them to achieve the very best.

The Technical Director was another individual who executed a number of administrative tasks that were significant to the coordination of the WCTFC. Everyone, including the Technical Director himself, indicated that his position was the key administrative position in the club. However, not everyone offered the same explanation of why the Technical Director was a key position. It was apparent that the design of the position gave the incumbent access to information and authority that enhanced his power and influence in the organization. I shall have more to say about this in the following section on hierarchy and control. At this time let us consider what the Technical Director had to say about the tasks for which he was responsible.

> Robert: Maybe you could tell me a little bit about your Technical Director role in the WCTFC.
>
> Sid: Running the club. I think that in any organization, a lot of people say that of the President. But in associations, the President, if he's a good President, he does the least work. I think that it's been demonstrated clearly, it's been demonstrated in the past to a large degree with our own provincial association that the Technical Director is the person who is running the association. The Technical Director is the one who is continually answering questions about the organization and about what can or cannot be done, and what things are available to the organization and so forth. I think to a scaled down degree that's what the Technical Director does within the WCTFC.
>
> Robert: What are some of the sort of specific duties of the Technical Director, what is the Technical Director's mandate?
>
> Sid: My prime areas of concern are, with respect to the club, budgeting and arranging of travel.
>
> Robert: So you're concerned with how much is going to be spent when you travel to different meets?
>
> Sid: You see, what happens with our club is that most of the coaches are "lumps" in that area, in the area of commerce or administration, and so consequently I say let's have a meeting and do our budget. I call a meeting together, and one coach is off on

> a trip somewhere, another coach doesn't come, so now I'm down to three coaches, and they say why don't you do it the same way you've done it in the past. Just present us with the budget and we'll okay it and then everything will be fine. Then everything gets thrown back to me, and I'm in the position that I make the budget for the club, and then they sit there and they go well that's fine. So this year rather than doing that, I said listen I'll do that for indoor because they're only going to go to K. of C., that's the only out-of-town meet they're going to travel to, and so I'll do that for indoors. But for outdoors, how about you, between now and then, discussing with your athletes that meets they want to go to and take if from there, and then we can put down a budget together. My needs and my athletes are going to be totally different from yours, and then we can take all these things and string them together and make a comprehensive budget. If we can't do it, we can't do it. If we can do it, we can do it.

Sid's comments illustrate the low priority given to performing administrative tasks by his fellow coaches, even those for which they were responsible. At the same time they indicate the necessity of them to the membership. The low priority of administration in the minds of coaches has had some influence on the structure of the organization. It has allowed power to accrue to the one coach who has taken the time to become involved with this task. However, coaches' values and beliefs may not be the only factor relevant to the apathy of the coaches when it came to administration. In the above examination of coach's feelings about their work, it became clear that coaches felt that the amount of time they had available to perform their coaching tasks was very inadequate. With less than an adequate amount of time to devote to coaching, they most likely had even less time to devote to secondary tasks such as administrative duties. These duties were only indirectly related to improving the performance of their athletes. Sid's involvement as an administrator contradicts this argument to some extent. However, if one takes into account that Sid did receive a considerable amount more remuneration for his coaching through his position as head coach with another organization his actions are less of a contradiction. His duties as a paid coach overlapped enough with his coaching and administrative role with the WCTFC to make it possible for him to take on the extra administrative tasks. As a paid coach he had access to support staff he could use to perform a lot of the overlaping paper work. This gave him an advantage over the other coaches.

The lack of clearly established, defined, and assigned administrative duties made it difficult to explore this aspect of membership within a sport organization. Sid's comments

above revealed a number of problems and conflicts that emerged because of this. Daft (1983) has pointed out that research on organizations has suggested that poor definition of tasks can lead to ambiguity which in turn tends to promote a high degree of conflict. This characteristic of WCTFC had several implications. Some athletes and coaches I spoke with had concerns about the lack of communication in the club. They also noted that the management of the club rested in the hands of two individuals who performed most of the administrative tasks, these people were the Technical Director and the Treasurer. Aside from these two individuals few, if any, others seemed to be intimately involved in the management and administration of club affairs. On occasion, an athlete or two would get involved in organizing a social event. However, such events were insignificant as far as the WCTFC was concerned.

Mintzberg's (1979) description of the characteristics of small organizations reflects what was discovered to exist in the WCTFC. Mintzberg noted that small organizations tend to have a simple structure which avoids using the formal devices of structures, and minimizes its dependence on specialists. The flow of work in these organizatons tends to be flexible, with jobs in the operating core, being relatively unspecialized and interchangeable. The design and execution of the task of being an administrator in the WCTFC corresponded to Mintzberg's findings in other areas. In speaking about the simple structure, Mintzberg also noted that in these organizations, because tasks are not highly specialized or formalized, power tends to accrue into the hands of a single or very small number of individuals. This was true in the case of the Technical Director. In the latter part of the following section I will discuss this phenomenon in more detail.

Summary

The analysis that was undertaken in this section revealed a number of features about the design and execution of tasks in the WCTFC. It was discovered that the key assumption underlying the design and execution of tasks was a belief that the membership of the club was committed to the production of high calibre performance. The design and execution of tasks performed by athletes revealed this bias. The tasks performed by these individuals involved

training and competing. The design of training tasks parallelled some of the features of the work place, where researchers have noted a production and performance imperative. The design of the task of training exhibited a degree of specialization, routinization, and close supervision.

Coaches had a large degree of control over the design and execution of the training programs of the athlete members of the WCTFC. Unlike the athletes, coaches enjoyed a large amount of discretion over how they designed and executed their tasks. The way in which they went about coaching was consistent with the production of performance ethic. They routinized, specialized, and closely supervised the tasks performed by the athletes. However, in attempting to execute their tasks in line with this ethic they were limited by a number of constraints. Their ability to closely supervise the athletes was impaired by other commitments which limited the amount of time they could be in direct contact with each athlete. The quality and quantity of attention a coach was prepared to commit to the task of working with an athlete was largely dependent upon the athlete's ability to perform at a high level and demonstrate a commitment through regular attendance at training sessions.

The strong emphasis on producing high level athletic performance impinged upon the administrative tasks that were performed in the WCTFC. Most athletes and coaches were discouraged from taking on administrative tasks because these tasks took away from the time they could spend on improving athletic performance. Many felt they had barely enough time as it was to work on the development of athletic performance. Few individuals were available to execute administrative tasks. Consequently, administrative tasks which were felt to be significant fell into the hands of three individuals. The WCTFC administrators had a large amount of discretion over the design and execution of their tasks. As was the case with other tasks, the design of administrative tasks reflected biases towards the production of high level athletic peformance. This was indicated by the amount of attention that was given to tasks specifically related to performance. The attention given to that area was comparatively large compared to other administrative concerns such as communication within the organization, the recruitment of new members, and planning. In other organizations these often stand out

as administrative priorities, they were not of much concern to the WCTFC.

D. Hierarchy and Control in West City Track and Field Club

Set against the background of Giddens' theory of structuration, the investigation of the effects of hierarchy and control in the WCTFC was undertaken through an analysis of the patterns of power and domination that existed in the club. In chapter two it was noted that systems of hierarchy and control manifest the patterns of power and domination that exist in an organization. The concept of hierarchy that was used in this study was relatively straight forward. In keeping with Salaman's (1979) usage of the term, hierarchy refers to levels or rankings that exist in an organization and as such, hierarchy is associated with a differential distribution of organizational power. Control, as it is used in this analysis, comes directly from Giddens' usage of the term: "by 'control' I mean the capability that some actors, groups or types of actors have of influencing the circumstances of actions of others (1986: 263)". The concepts of hierarchy and control are underpinned by the notions of power and domination which mediate the modality of facility described by Giddens. The theory of structuration maintains that power is the means of getting things done. As such, power is related to hierarchy and control but is not synonomous with either. Hierarchy is relevant to the actual distribution of power in an organization and control to the power individuals have over conditions of action. One may possess power without having control. One cannot have control without possessing power. These characteristics of hierarchy and control suggest that these concepts are best understood through an examination of power.

The concept of power is a controversial one and has been the subject of much debate within sociology (cf. Clegg and Dunkerly, 1984; Giddens, 1979, 1986; and Lukes, 1976). Therefore, it is important, before entering a discussion of hierarchy and control which focuses on power, to clarify how power was conceptualized in this research. In keeping with Giddens' theory of structuration, which has guided the approach taken to each sub-problem area of this study, power is regarded as referring to transformative capacity. Giddens referred to power as follows:

> . . . power is implied in the very notion of action, I shall hence forward employ the term 'power' as a sub-category of 'transformative capacity' to refer interaction where transformative capacity *is harnessed to actors' attempts to get others to comply with their wants*. Power in this relational sense, concerns the capability of actors to secure outcomes where the realization of these outcomes depends upon the agency of others. The use of power in interaction thus can be understood in terms of the facilities that participants bring to and mobilise as elements of the production of that interaction, thereby influencing its course. Social systems are constituted as regularised practices: power within social systems can thus be treated as *involving reproduced relations of autonomy and dependence in social interaction*. Power relations therefore are always two-way, even if the power of one actor or party in a social relationship is minimal compared to another. Power relations are relations of autonomy and dependence, but even the most autonomous agent is in some degree dependent, and the most dependent actor or party in a relationship retains some autonomy (1979: 93).

The two-way character of power relationships described by Giddens operates in conjunction with the 'dialectic of control'. Giddens coined the term 'dialectic of control' as a means of indicating that inasmuch as power is a two-way relationship, control must be discussed with regard to how the less powerful (i.e., the athletes in this study) manage resources in such a way as to exert control over the more powerful (i.e., the coaches and administrators in this study).

The analysis of hierarchy and control through an examination of power was undertaken as a means of understanding the structural properties of the WCTFC and their impact on the experience of being a member of it. Giddens maintained that "rules and resources organized as properties of social systems" represent the structure of social systems such as organizations. If one wishes to understand the structuring of social interaction then, one must examine the rules and resources that actors draw upon in their interaction. The way in which actors or collectives draw upon these resources in their efforts to bring out a particular occurence, (i.e. exert power) or reach an intended outcome, will reveal a great deal about the structure (as rules and resources) of social systems.

With these points in mind, the analysis of hierarchy and control through an examination of power was undertaken as a means of revealing the structure of the relationships that existed in the WCTFC. This analysis began by focusing on the ability of coaches and athletes to gain the desired outcomes they felt should be forthcoming from their involvement with the club. Athletes and coaches were asked to talk about the things they

wished to accomplish via their association with the WCTFC. They were also asked to speak about how successful they had been in obtaining what they felt the club should be providing for them. The discussion with coaches and athletes indicated, an agreement with the theory of structuration, that power needed to be analyzed at the levels of social and system integration[16]. These two levels of analysis were described briefly in chapter two. Analysis of power at the level of social integration deals with relationships between individuals that occur in day-to-day interaction and through immediate contact (Giddens, 1979, 1986). A considerable amount of the day-to-day relationships and social interaction within the WCTFC took place within the four training groups led by each of the club's coaches. Consequently, some discussion of the power relationships that existed between athletes and coaches and its impact on the structuring of the organization was seen to be appropriate[17]. The analysis of power at the level of system integration considers power relationships between groups or collectives outside of day-to-day interaction and immediate contact. While coaches and athletes experience most of their club involvement in small groups that meet on a daily basis, they are also involved in other relationships that do not take place on a daily basis. It was the coordination of the activities which required a collective effort of the various groups that existed in the WCTFC that was set out for analysis under the heading of system integration. This is the more common focus of research on organizations where much attention is given to the way in which organizational tasks are coordinated to meet the ends upon which its existence is based. In the WCTFC, coordination was most relevant to the accumulation of money which was used to offset the costs of competition incurred by its members. Under the heading of 'system integration' I will discuss the power individuals had over the coordination

[16] Giddens did not link the notion of power as "transformative capacity" to the notions of social and system integration directly. Integration itself refers to the "regularized ties, interchanges or reciprocity between actors or collectives" (1979: 70). Power relations underlie the notion of integration inasmuch as they are relations of autonomy or dependence which are expressed in and through the regularized ties or reciprocity that exists between actors or collectives.

[17] Within the framework of the theory of structuration, the structuring of the organization as it is mentioned here makes no distinction between the organization and the activities that take place in it. The 'duality of structure' is such that organizational structure per se cannot be separated from the structuring of activities that take place within the organization or social system.

of both the accumulation and distribution of funds. I will also give some attention to the amount of control individuals had over the distribution and accumulation of funds. That is to say, I will analyze the capability of some actors to set out the conditions which would govern these activities.

Through the insight gained from these levels of analysis it was possible to discover the structural properties of the WCTFC. In each analysis, an emphasis was placed on identifying the key resources that were exchanged through interaction and the rules that governed these exchanges. These rules and resources represent the structure of the WCTFC. Willmott (1981) noted that, control exists where interactants have the ability to affect each other's conduct through the application of rules and resources. Power stands out as an indication of control inasmuch as it refers to the capabilities of individuals to reach definite outcomes. Hence, each analysis begins with a consideration of the definite outcomes the members of the WCTFC sought to achieve. The rules and resources that they drew upon as means of reaching these outcomes is discussed. Attention is given to the capability of some members to influence or apply these rules and resources, and in so doing reach a definite outcome.

Social Integration: Coach-Athlete Interdependence

As indicated in the previous section, athletes and coaches alike focused the overwhelming majority of their activities on training and competing. These activities comprised the major focus of the members of the WCTFC. Training was aimed at improving athletic performance. Competition was the primary means of measuring athletic performance. This being the case, decisions regarding the design of the training programs were of key importance to WCTFC athletes and coaches. The training program was comprised of the sum total of each individual training session. It was regarded, by most athletes interviewed, as the key resource necessary for them to achieve their goal of improving their athletic performance. A good training regime was regarded as being essential to the improvement of athletic performance. Consequently, in almost all cases athletes emphasized the importance of coaching. In many cases athletes added that a certain type of coaching was important rather

than just plain coaching. Here are some examples of what was said by some of the athletes:

> Trevor: Good coaching is definitely something you need. Actually you need not just a lot of technical training but a lot of moral support. When I say moral I mean a lot of encouragement and motivation. A lot of that comes on your own but, the interaction within the group and with your coach can provide that. I think that has a big effect on your desire. I think that in our group that is one of the very strong points of its unity.

> Beth: Yeah, coaching is important. If Elliot wasn't my coach I don't know if I would have done it. Because there's nobody who could have understood. I don't think there was anybody who could have understood my situation well enough. You know except for somebody who actually watched me go through it. I mean that person would have to be very flexible, to give me workouts to do at midnight and then be there to push me through it.

> Geoff: Coaching is definitely a factor for sure. Like I said before, Sid's program is really . . . .it seems to be working for me and I think its going to continue to work. I guess you have to have a coach that works for you individually. Certain types of coaches wouldn't work in my case. I don't think I could train under an authoritarian type coach. . . . At the level that I am at now I'd tend to say coaching. But if I ever got to, say, a world class level I'd have to say that (*there is a long pause*). I wouldn't really want to give up coaching. I've got a good coach, it would be tough to improve. I'd have to say coaching is most important to me I guess.

The above quotations make it very clear that coaching was certainly the key need felt by the athletes and the relationship between a coach and athlete was also a key one. Athletes, through their association with their coaches, expected to raise the level of their athletic performance. Similary, coaches, through the efforts of the athletes, endeavored to produce high level athletic performance. As indicated above, the analysis of hierarchy and control through an examination of power begins with the consideration of the rules and resources that are drawn upon as a means of reaching a definite outcome.

The interviews indicated that coaches and athletes were both interested in seeing the athlete improve his or her level of performance. When interviewed, coaches stated that they could not expect their athletes to improve unless the athletes were willing to participate in the training programs they developed. Coaches perceived their ability to provide a proper program as an important factor in their own success and ultimately the success of the athlete. Gaining access to the resource of knowledge that could be used to achieve this required that the coach consult the athletes for their feelings about what they were doing. The more input an athlete contributed to the development of the training program the greater the amount of control he or she had over the design of the tasks that were executed by him or her. The coaches in the

WCTFC did spend a fair amount of time gathering input from the athletes as a means of learning or gaining knowledge about what would continue to motivate their athletes to train. Sid's comments concerning how he designed his program, mentioned in the previous section on task design, indicated this fact clearly. The responses of other coaches supported this conclusion.

In the coach-athlete relationship, the key resources possessed by coaches, which athletes competed to obtain, were the coach's knowledgeability and the desire of the coach to apply that knowledge in favor of the athlete's interest. Coaches had a limited amount of time to spend coaching. This time had to be divided up among a number athletes. Athletes competed for this time.

The key resources possessed by athletes were their willingness to associate themselves with a particular coach and their willingness and ablility to devote time to the training regime set out by that coach. The ability to perform at a high level, which earned the coach recognition, status, other opportunities, and permitted the coach to believe that he or she was successful, was another resource that athletes possessed. In addition, the athlete's knowledge about their preferred approach to training might also be identified as a resource possessed by the athlete.

The exchange of these resources between athletes and coaches was one of the principle means through which athletes and coaches achieved their desired outcomes. According to the theory of structuration, in order to understand power relationships between athletes and coaches we must understand the rules that govern the exchange of these resources which are crucial to the wants of athletes and coaches. The rules which governed the coach-athlete relationships in the WCTFC were informal. An indication of the dynamics of these rules and their relationship to hierarchy and control was evidenced by comments that came out in the interviews. These comments will be considered below.

The discussions that took place during the interviews indicated that coaches were selective in approaching athletes for input and also selective with regard to how much input they would incorporate into their training programs. There was, however, only one coach who

freely admitted to being selective and offered a rationale for doing so. The knowledge that other coaches were also selective emerged from inconsistencies in the interviews with the athletes and coaches. For example, two athletes who trained under the guidance of the same coach gave completely different responses when asked about the amount of input they had into the design of their training programs. One athlete stated that the athletes were encouraged to give suggestions to their coach. The coach's call for input took place on a "informal basis" which this athlete felt indicated "he is trying to find out what they (other athletes) really want to get out of the program". The comments of another athlete concerning this coach were quite different. This athlete indicated that the coach did not call upon her for input. She mentioned that on occasion she had taken the initiative and offered some suggestions but they were never acted upon. This athlete indicated that this particular coach liked to come up with his own workouts.

As a second illustration of this discrepancy, the differences between the comments of a coach and one of his athletes can be considered. I asked this coach if he ever approached his athletes for input into the design of workouts and if he had a set time of year when he did this. He responded, "Yeah, we had that time before university. I called one athlete aside and then together with all the athletes I discussed the program". The same question was put to one of his athletes who was very familiar with the others in the group. She replied, "No, you get the feeling he has it in his own mind. . . . I don't recollect any other athletes talking about it (meeting with the coach to discuss and plan the training) . . . . Michelle has been training for four years and Michelle said he doesn't do that, you have to do it for yourself. . . . you take the initiative".

The above comments demonstrate that some athletes have more input into the design of their training programs, and hence more control over them than others. Also a number of informal rules had an impact on the amount of control an athlete could expect to have over his or her training program and his or her relationship with the coach. In the WCTFC the amount of attention an athlete could expect to receive from any coach was related to the amount of time the athlete was able to devote to training and the level at which the athlete

was capable of performing. Coaches exchanged their willingness to share their expertise and knowledge about training programs with athletes who had the most to offer in terms of the time they were able to spend training and in terms of the level of their performance. High level performers not only received more attention from their coaches but were also consulted about the design of their programs more often than low level performers. The most exaggerated indication of this fact came from an athlete who indicated that she was expected to execute the same training program of an athlete who competed at a much higher level than herself. Even when she indicated that she found it physically impossible to do so, through her continual failure to complete training sessions because of her total exhaustion, her coach insisted she adhere to that particular training regime. To a lesser extent, coaches tended to seek input from athletes who had demonstrated commitment over a long period of time and through this involvement gained some knowledge about training principles and their application. Such knowledge, it may be argued, detracts from the initial resource bases of the coach, and increases the scope of resources the athlete can draw upon as a means of realizing the goal of increased performance.

Control in the coach-athlete relationship was mediated by a commonly understood set of informal rules. The informal rules which mediated the relation between athletes and their coaches were based on a number of things, the character of which support Giddens' (1979) claim that all relationships of power and hence control are two-way. The power of athletes and coaches to reach their shared interest in improving athletic performance made some of the resources possessed by each desireable to the other. The knowledge that coaches had about training principles and what needed to be done in order to improve athletic performance placed the coach in a powerful position in relation to the athlete. Most athletes entered into a relationship with a coach as a means of obtaining access to the knowledge that would convey upon them the power to improve the level of their athletic performance. Most coaches indicated a desire to one day develop a world class competitior. Their power to do this was partly dependent upon the athlete's willingness to execute the tasks set out by the coach. For the most part, coaches had the upper hand in this relationship. The knowledge they possessed

was more scarce than the athletes who wished to excel at sport. In the face of few alternatives, athletes may have been more inclined to give control to the coach. The athletes' perception or belief that they did not have this type of knowledge led them to become dependent on their coach. However, individuals with the physical ability and other characteristics needed to become world class competitors were also scarce[18]. Coaches endeavored to do whatever was necessary to keep those individuals involved. This was most easily accomplished if the coach was able to discover the athletes training preferences and incorporate them into the design of the training program.

The analysis of power in the coach athlete relationship suggests, with regard to hierarchy, that coaches had a higher rank than athletes, however, this ranking was informal. In addition, it also demonstrates that although control was a two-way relationship between the athletes and coaches, the latter tended to have more control. They were, through their specialized knowledge, able to control the training activities athletes undertook. Some athletes were able to retain their control of the activities if they were able to perform at a high level relative to other members of the training group. Coaches encouraged these individuals to become involved in the design of their activities as means of keeping them involved.

From this discussion of hierarchy and control it is evident that the production of performance was significant to the coach-athlete relationship. Previously it was pointed out that this principle is characteristic of society at large and is reproduced within the WCTFC as well as other sport organizations. Whitson (1984) has discussed the importance of this principle to power relationships in a recent discussion on sport and hegemony. In that discussion he noted that a growing professionalisation of attitudes towards sport has caused people to place a higher and higher priority on results and place less significance on interpersonal or expressive experiences. The power relationships that were discovered to exist between athletes and coaches within the WCTFC confirm some of Whitson's statements about the increasing significance of the performance principle. Whitson noted that the acceptance of

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[18] As noted in chaper one, physical ability is only one of many factors that influence the level of sport performance an individual might achieve. Race, class, and gender are also significant.

this principle serves to promote the hegemony of the dominant order in western capitalist society. Thus, the WCTFC, inasmuch as coach-athlete relationships were structured according the performance principle, also promoted this hegemony. The emphasis on performance that existed within the WCTFC did not emerge in and of itself, in isolation through the relationships that developed from within. It appears more likely, as Whitson (1984) demonstrated in a broader sense, to be an outcome of the more general phenomenon of the organization and subsequent transformation of informal traditions into formal and official structures which regulate competition.

System Integration: Coordination and Interdependence

Giddens used the term "system integration" to refer to the "reciprocity between actors and collectives across extended time space, out-side conditions of co-presence" (1986: 77). This discussion will focus on such relationships as they relate to hierarchy and control, through an analysis of power in the WCTFC. Within the WCTFC there were a number of relationships which did not take place on a day-to-day basis and did not always involve face to face interaction, or what Giddens termed as being co-presence. These activities had a broad scope and required a large amount of coordination. Fundraising is an ~~example of such~~ an activity. This activity does not necessarily require that individuals in an organization meet face to face with one another. However, it does require some coordination of effort such as keeping track of funds raised, ensuring that people execute fundraising activities, ensuring that funds raised are submitted to the proper individual and subsequently deposited in the bank, and so on. These relationships were mediated by formal written rules and obligations as well as a number of informal rules and obligations. As was the case in the discussion of power relationships at the level of social integration, it is important to understand the wants, desires, and expectations of the club's members that relate to system integration. The relevant wants, desires, and expectations, in this, regard are those that to some extent relate to the collective efforts of the individuals and/or groups of individuals that comprise the WCTFC. These needs (i.e., money for travel and accomodation) are distinct from those which were met

through the coach-athlete relationship as they required a cooperative effort and were often the rationale cited by coaches and athletes for joining the club in the first place. In uncovering and analysing the rules and resources that were drawn upon as a means of collectively reaching these outcomes, it will be possible to comment on the hierarchy and control as it relates to the WCTFC as an integrated social system.

In examining hierarchy and control in the WCTFC as an integrated social system or organization, it will be neccesary to consider the differentiation and coordination of the activities that are undertaken by its membership. In the section on tasks it was indicated that there was little vertical differentiation in the WCTFC. It was horizontally differentiated into three areas of athlete, coach, and administrator. The tasks of athletes and coaches were further differentiated according to the track and field events in which each coach specialized. The activities that took place in each training group did not comprise the totality of activities organized within the WCTFC. Other activities, primarily fundraising also took place. The execution of these activities required the coordination of these various groups. For example, some had to schedule fundraising activities and keep a record of who was actively participating in them and ensure that club members were available to exucute the tasks required by these activities.

I will discuss hierarchy and control at the level of system integration by considering the differentiation and the coordination of activities within the WCTFC as they relate to the capability of certain actors or groups to influence the conditions faced by others. The capability that those individuals or groups had to influence the conditions faced by others can be interpereted as an expression of their power. This being the case, this analysis of hierarchy and control must also considered the desired outcomes, sought by the people in the WCTFC, that were relevant to the differentiation and coordination that existed in the club. Consequently, as was the case in the discussion of coach-athlete relationships, I will begin this analysis with a description of the wants and needs cited by the membership of WCTFC that were pertinent to the differentiation and coordination of the WCTFC. I will then proceed to discuss the nature of the differentiation and coordination that existed in the WCTFC and how

these processes facilitated the fulfillment of those wants. Through this discussion it will be possible to point out the characteristics of the hierarchy and control which existed in the WCTFC at the level of system integration.

Athletes and coaches mentioned access to competition as a need or resource that was important to the achievement of their goals. In this regard, most athletes cited financial support for travel to competitions as their primary expectation in terms of the responsibility of the club. By far, more time was spent talking about issues related to this topic than any other that was discussed. Most of the coordinated and formally regulated activities that took place in the club related directly to this need. The activities undertaken by the membership of the club collectively, focused on very few tasks that were not directly related to funding athletes to competitions and organizing the resources necessary for their attendance. The club had little concern with recruiting new members, organizing its own competitions (apart from one competition each year), or promoting the sport of track and field.

With such a small focus, it was not surprising to discover that within the WCTFC there was little differentiation and few formal rules. These characteristics of the WCTFC embody what Mintzberg referred to as a simple structure:

> The simple structure is characterized, above all, by what is not— elaborated. Typically, it has little or no technostructure, few support staffers, a loose division of labor, minimal differentiation among its sub-units, and a small managerial hierarchy. Little of its behavior is formalized, and it makes minimal use of planning training and the liason devices. It is, above all, organic (1979: 306).

Notwithstanding the problems with traditional organizational theory's conception of structure[19], Mintzberg's (1979) description of the relationships that are characteristic of what he referred to as a simple structure were evident in the structure of the WCTFC. It is difficult to speak of a formal hierarchy existing within the WCTFC. The formal line of authority consisted of a decision making Board of Directors at the top, which consulted with a group of

[19] The conception of structure held by traditional organization theorists is not entirely consistent with the conception of structure used in the theory of structuration. As was noted in chapter two, these theorists do not make a distinction between structure and system and consequently these concepts tend to dissolve into one another. Traditional organization theory does not conceive of structure as rules and resources, organized as properties of social systems.

coaches who were suppose to represent the interests of the athletes. The athletes in turn had the least influence on the decision making process. However, since active athletes made up approximately one-third of the Board of Directors, they did, as an interest group, have the greatest potential to influence the affairs of the club. This being the case, one might argue that athletes did in fact have access to control. The extent to which athletes actually utilized this collective majority was minimal. Athletes had little interest, time, or desire, to involve themselves in the coordination of the club and left this task up to other board members.

Mintzberg (1979) noted that within smaller organizations there is little if any vertical differentiation beyond one or two levels. He also put forward a number of other observations about the way in which coordination is handled in these small organizations that in part reflects the very conditions of coordination which existed in the WCTFC. Mintzberg wrote:

> Coordination in the simple structure is effected by direct supervision. Specifically, power over all important decisions tends to be in the hands of the chief executive officer. Thus the strategic apex emerges as the key part of the structure; indeed, the structure very often consists of little more than a one-man strategic apex and an organic operating core. The chief executive tends to have a very wide span of control; in fact it is not uncommon for everyone else to report to him (1979: 306).

The WCTFC did not have a chief executive officer per se. There was however, one individual that everyone identified as being a key person in the organization. That person was the Technical Director. As was indicated by his own description of his tasks, the Technical Director was responsible for budgeting and travel. This responsibility gave him a degree of power and influence over the distribution of the club's resources. However, his influence appeared to go beyond this. He, as one athlete put it, "carries a lot of weight". It also appeared, from his own statements and the statements of others, that he was more inclined to get involved with the administrative activities that were related to coordination in the club to a greater extent than most other individuals. As a result of this involvement he was perceived to have a great deal of influence over the Board of Directors.

Mintzberg (1979) made one other observation concerning these types of organizations that is pertinent to this discussion. He suggested that where power tends to accrue into the hands of a single person, and at the same time there is a tendancy within the organization to neglect or avoid the formulation and implementation of formal rules, that person will in

effect design a simple structure. Formal rules which governed the coordination of activities and distribution of resources within the WCTFC were minimal. The formal rules that were in place (see Appendix A) consisted of procedures and regulations that were most relevant to ensuring that club activities were coordinated and that members were aware of their obligations. There were no formally laid out rules governing the distribution of the club's resources. The informal rules that did govern this were discovered through the conversations with club members. These conversations indicated that the Technical Director himself determined many of the rules which governed the distribution of the club's resources. This confirms Minzberg's observation that where power tends to accrue in the hands of a single person, that person will in effect design a simple structure for the organization. The way in which this actually occured will be clarified below.

Within Giddens', theory of structuration 'structure' refers to the rules and resources that are drawn upon by actors in the process of interaction. Control refers to the capability some actors have of influencing the circumstances of action of others. Consequently, when referring to control over structure, one refers to the capability of an actor to influence the circumstances relevant to the rules and resources actors can draw upon in order to achieve a desired outcome. The Technical Director had this capability. He himself established the conditions that needed to be met in order for the other members of the WCTFC to have access to funding for competitions. These rules were not formalized but everyone interviewed was aware of them and of the Technical Director's power. The knowledge that everyone within the WCTFC had about the power of the Technical Director was evident from their belief that he and his athletes were able to access the most scarce resource (funding to competitions that required air travel), considerably more often than any other other individuals. The following comment from an interview indicated this feeling.

> You only get to go [to a particular out of province meet], and this is totally my opinion if you're in Sid's group. . . Granted there are a lot more higher performers in that group so it may have been better for them to go. Fine take them let them go there if it's a good meet but let us [banging her fist on the desk loudly] have a chance. Let us go some where else!

An indication of how the Technical Director had designed the structure of the organization and the power he had to do so is contained in his own comments about the rules which governed the allocation of travel funds. It is also important to note that he himself was aware of the control he possessed, as was indicated by his own admission that the rules that he went by reflected his own personal philosphy and might change if someday he was no longer the Technical Director. The comments below follow the remarks made by the Technical Director in the section of task design that indicated how decisions regarding travel were made. There he noted that the coaches were reluctant to participate in planning and as a result had to suffer the consequences. As our conversation continued, the following comments were made:

> Sid: The planning meeting, the coaches didn't take it very seriously. So consequently, they come down the next day and say well why are your athletes going here or there. I'd say, well look, first you don't shoulder your responsibility of putting the budget together, and I don't have any problems with that. And then I show you the budget. And then you say why are my people going all over the place? Because it's my budget, I'm not thinking about your fourteen year old girl, or your fifteen year old boy, or what have you. I asked you to help me, so although I don't think there are bad feelings, when the budget comes from one source naturally he's not going to be able to think about the needs of all the coaches. Consequently, if the coaches don't get involved with the running of the organization, then it presents a problem to this office and that's directly the case with someone like Murray. He doesn't get involved with the planning and the organization of the WCTFC and consequently, his athletes are so left out they don't know what's happening with the club. It's largely because their coach is not keeping himself informed with the club. It's not like we have a million meetings every year. We have about eight meetings a year as an executive, and they usually last for a couple of hours.
>
> Robert: What I seem to hear is that the philosophy tends to be, no one is going to run the show for you, you have to stand up and shout to be counted, otherwise you're going to get left in the backwash of whatever is left.
>
> Sid: That's not necessarily true. You have to present yourself or your position in areas to be heard.
>
> Robert: You have to speak up, no one is going to come to you and seek you. No one in the club is going to seek out a coach to find out what that coach needs. They're going to send a message, come and see you. If the coach doesn't bother to come and see you, then nothing is going to happen beyond that.
>
> Sid: That may be right at this time but only because that reflects my philosophy. If I arrange to have a meeting with you once, I arrange for input for your whatever wants and you don't show up, I don't go and say I'm going to make an appointment with you. I already made my appointment with you, now you have to make one with me.

Sid's comments illustrate a number of points relevant to the discussion of hierarchy and control in an organization like the WCTFC where there is little specialization, few formalized rules, and individuals do not wish to bother themselves with administrative details. Sid recognized that although coaches or their athletes must take the initiative in order to obtain any benefits from the club, this was not universally agreed upon as being the appropriate means of obtaining benefits. There were no written or formal guidelines that had been universally accepted by the membership that Sid had to follow in performing his duties as Technical Director or when deciding how the club resources would be managed. He was free to establish his own rules based on his own personal values and beliefs. He was given the formal authority to make decisions concerning the travel budget and how it would be administered each year. The other members had no other option but to follow the rules as he set them out, according to his personal values and beliefs, or suffer the consequences of ignoring them. Hence, as Mintzberg (1979) suggested, a single individual was able to control the structuring of this organization.

Other studies of power and control in amateur sport organizations (cf. Slack, 1983 and Pitter, 1984) have also indicated that within these organizations there is a tendancy for power to become centralized in the hands of a small number of individuals. A number of reasons have been offered as a means of explaining this phenomena. Slack (1983) explained the centralization of power in the organization he studied in terms of: access to resources; non-substitutability of activities; and the centrality of activity. These sources of power where discussed by Hickson et. al. (1971) in their strategic contingencies theory of power and deserve some consideration here. Slack referred to such explanations of the orgins of power as being "structural" and more suitable to studies of a sociological nature than those of a behavioural sort (1983: 266). However, Giddens has argued that

> there is no such entity as a distinctive type of 'structural explanation' in the social sciences; all explanation will involve at least implicit reference both to the purposive, reasoning behavior of agents and to its intersection with constraining and enabling features of the social and material context of that behavior (1986: 179).

Consequently, in attempting to explain the centralization of power in the WCTFC we must consider both the structural base of that power as described in such work as the Strategic

Contingency theory as well as others which relate to the role of action.

In considering an explanation that draws from the strategic contingency theory, it was evident that the Technical Director's power could be explained by two of the three 'structural' bases Slack (1983) cited as contributing to the aquisition of power in the organization he studied. The two features that contributed to the power of the Technical Director were access to resources and the centrality of his activity to the club. The third base, non-subsitutability, it will be argued, was less significant if it was significant at all.

In considering access to resources it is important to note that the Technical Director, apart from his activities as a volunteer coach and member of the WCTFC Board of Directors, was employed on a part-time basis as head track and field coach at the local university. This unique position gave him access to a number of significant resources that were not immediately available to other individuals in the club. The most important of these being access to information. Kanter (1977) outlined the importance of access to information as a source of power. Sid's job as head coach at the university put him in a position where he was constantly, as requirement of this job, up to date with developments in the track and field community. In addition, the overlap between his positions as paid coach and volunteer coach meant that on an ongoing basis, there was a significant overlap in the activities he performed. Executing a task as head coach often meant being able to execute the same task as the WCTFC coach and Technical Director. On many occasions he shared or combined the resources of the university and the WCTFC. This enabled him to increase the ability of both organizations to meet the desired needs of their athletes. The significance of the degree of overlap between Sid's two positions was evidenced by the many instances when athletes confused the university's contribution to their athletic endeavors with those of the WCTFC.

Little needs to be said about the centrality of the Technical Director's activities to the club. Absolutely everyone in the WCTFC had to deal with him. Inasmuch as centrality is defined as "the degree to which the activities of a sub-unit (or individual) are interlinked to the system" (Hickson et al.: 1971) the centrality of the Technical Director's activities was self evident.

The relevance of non-substitutability to the explanation of power is questionable not only with regard to this study but also in itself. None of the data gathered in this study suggested that the power of the Technical Director was based, to any degree, upon a belief or even the circumstance that he was irreplaceable. Previous to Sid, other individuals had acted as Technical Director. Looking into the future there was no indication that everyone expected Sid to be Technical Director indefinitely, including Sid himself. If power is to be defined as the capability of actors to get things done, the relevance of the notion of substitutability as a base for power has to be questioned. Furthermore, the idea that non-substitutability confers power stands in direct opposition to the major premise of the theory of structuration which states that in any given situation an individual or collective could have acted otherwise (Giddens 1979: 56). The idea of non-substitutability suggests that under certain conditions actors have no alternatives. The theory of structuration suggests that is not the case.

The idea that in any given situation agents always have the option to act otherwise does not mean that in acting they do not feel certain pressures to choose certain alternatives over others. Rather than speak of these pressures in terms of a condition such as substitutability, which in most instances is overly reductive, one needs to take a broader approach that includes the role of agency. It is an effort to explain further the amount of control that the Technical Director had over the structuring of the WCTFC that brings me to a consideration of this point. So far I have suggested that the power of the Technical Director over the coordination and allocation of resources in the WCTFC can be explained in part through his access to certain resources and the centrality of the activities he undertook. Inasmuch as power is a two-way relationship, as described above, we must consider the power that other individuals in WCTFC have at their disposal and the inevitable conditions which make them less powerful (or cause them to choose not to act).

Through such a discussion one is able to address the question concerning the inevitability that may seem to underlie the relations of hierarchy and control in the WCTFC. Giddens (1986) made some interesting remarks concerning this aspect of social explanation:

> Why is it that some social forces have an apparently 'inevitable' look to them? It is because in such instances there are few options open to the actors in

> question, given they behave rationally — 'rationally' in this case meaning effectively aligning motives with the end-result of whatever conduct is involved. That is to say, the actors have 'good reasons' for what they do, reasons which the structural sociologist is likely to assume implicitly rather than explicitly attributing to those actors. Since such good reasons involve choice from very limited feasible alternatives, their conduct may appear to be driven by some implacable force similar to physical force. There are many social forces that actors in a meaningful sense of that phrase, are 'unable to resist'. That is to say, they cannot do anything about them. But 'cannot' here means that they are unable to do anything other than to conform to whatever the trends in question are, given the motives or goals which underlie their action (1986: 178).

In part, the power and control that the Technical Director possessed was given to him by the other members of the club as a consequence of their reluctance to become involved in decision making and taking on some of the tasks involved with coordinating the activities of the club. Another consequence of this action, or lack of action on the part of the other members in the club, also resulted in what people perceived as an inequitable distribution of the club's resources in favor of those athletes who were coached by the Technical Director. Nothwithstanding these complaints, the interviewees were either satisified with the arrangement or, if they were not satisfied, they were not prepared to make the effort to change things. These actions can, in part, be traced to many of the pressures noted above, which had an impact on the structuring of coach-athlete relationships. These pressures concerned family commitments, school, and work. Most coaches and athletes admitted having a shortage of time to devote to their primary goal of improving athletic performance. It would seem plausible to suggest that faced with pressures that detracted from their ability to meet their primary objectives, these individuals would be reluctant to give up even more time to become involved with tasks which they regarded as being of secondary importance. One athlete expressed this very point during one of the interviews when he stated:

> The thing is, athletes are generally very busy people and they don't really have a lot of time to do some of the things that are required to be done by the executive of a track club. We could try to have athletes and coaches in everyone of the executive positions, but it is . . . like I say they are generally very busy people and they don't really have the time to spare.

A further explanation of the relationship of these considerations to power in the WCTFC is in order, however, such a task goes beyond the limitations of this study. The data gathered for this study served only to indicate the significance of this factor. As this factor

relates to aspects of social life external to the activities that took place within the WCTFC, it was not investigated extensively. One other aspect of power and control in the WCTFC needs to be discussed before concluding the discussion of this sub-problem area, namely, the legitimacy of certain practices, formal and informal rules.

Giddens (1986: 176) has noted that "power relations are most often embedded in modes of conduct which are taken-for-granted by those who follow them, most especially in routinized behavior, which is only difusely motivated". These taken for granted modes of conduct can be studied to gain some insight into a significant mode of organizational control. This mode of control is that of ideology and legitimation. Salaman (1979), has argued that legitimation is a significant means of control in professional organizations where there is a resistance to formal rules. While it may be difficult to argue that the WCTFC is a professional organization, it is not difficult to discover a number of parallels between the way it operates and these types of agencies.

In examining the importance of legitimation to professional organizations, Salaman (1979) focused on some of the rewards that are characteristic of professional positions. In particular he noted the instrinsic satisfaction, challenge, and creativity of their jobs. These rewards parallel those sought by coaches and athletes. In organizations where these sort of characteristics exist, coordination often depends heavily on legitimation and indoctrination (cf. Mintzberg, 1979; and Salaman, 1979). Salaman suggested, individuals in these type of organizations are to some extent controlled by their commitment to organizational philosophies. These individuals are likely:

> . . . to be so committed to philosophies which emphasise the importance and value of a particular activity, condition, practice or objective that to some considerable extent they regulate their own work behaviour. . . . The common feature of such organisational members is their conviction of the importance and indeed — indeed necessity — of their organisational activity, and of their personal responsibility to perform their part in the achievement of the desired goal with competence and diligence. . . . of course it is true that professionals and bureaucrats may differ in the focus of their commitments. . . .Nevertheless, these groups are similar in that to a striking extent control is exercised through both commitment and personal monitoring. . . (Salaman 1979: 115-116).

In the WCTFC there were few formal rules in place that regulated the obligations of its members. And even where there were formal rules in place little, time or effort was spent

enforcing them. The most significant formal obligation athletes had, relevant to the coordination of the club's activities, required them to work at five bingos per year on behalf of the club. These bingos were the club's primary source of income. The money raised from these was used to cover the costs of sending athletes and coaches to competitions. As noted in the section on task execution, athletes hated bingo's with a passion. Beyond this hatred there was also an evident concern that the distribution of the funds they were helping to raise was less than equitable. Even so, most athletes maintained their obligation to participate in five bingos, even though it was well known that no one had ever been punished for failing to comply with this obligation. How then does one explain this commitment to an activity about which people were apprehensive?

In this respect, we must also consider the informal rules upon which the distribution of the scarce resource of funding was based. The performance principle underlay the distribution of this resource. That is to say, it was accepted by the majority of the club membership that in order to receive funding to meets that required air travel, athletes and their coaches had to attain a certain level of performance. The actual objective definition of what this level of performance was, never became explicitly clear through the interviews or club documents. Everyone (including low performers) agreed, however, that level of performance was an important criterion. Consider the comments made by an athlete who was asked how she would go about getting funding to travel to a popular competition in Vancover.

> I know how good I am. I realize that there are people better than me. I really don't want to go places. Here in Edmonton there is usually enough competition for me. So there is no reason for me to go elsewhere. . . .
>
> I'm happy with being here. . . the trips are always fun but the money could be used better. . . .
>
> Well the money shouldn't be allocated equally. Everyone gets a hundred bucks. The junior athletes should only get to go some places, that's true. I remember when I first joined in 1981, the big trip for cross-country was to go to Vancover. Every year they would send a cross-country team there, and that was great. . . . It would be nice to go down east sometimes, but then again it depends what level you are at.

The relationship between the controls that governed resource accumulation and distribution in the WCTFC is important inasmuch as it reveals the impact of commitment and legitimation. It seems fair to suggest, that to a large degree the willingness of athletes to

participate in these bingos rested in part in their belief that it was the most effective and efficient way of acquiring the money needed by the club. Everyone suggested that other alternatives took more effort and in most cases yielded less money in proportion to the and time effort needed to perform them. As far as the tolerance for the inequitable distribution of funds goes, this can be explained in terms of the shared belief that other alternatives took more effort and in most cases yielded less money in proportion to the and time and effort needed to perform them. As far as the tolerance for the unequal distribution of funds goes, this can be explained by the shared belief in the sanctity of the performance principle. The performance principle was not only one of the underlying motivations of involvement for all athletes and coaches, it was also significant to the distribution of all the resources in the club. High level performers required more resources and deserved them irregardless of their contribution to the accumulation of these resources. Few people interviewed ever raised a concern that resource allocation should, to some degree, be based on each individual's contribution to resource accumulation.

These observations suggest, in agreement with Salaman (1979) and others, that control in organizations is also based in part on normative considerations. Within the WCTFC these normative considerations were based on a shared acceptance of the performance principle, and belief that the WCTFC provided a legitimate means of reaching goals associated with this principle, i.e. improved athletic performance.

Summary

The analysis of hierarchy and control in the WCTFC was used as a means of understanding the way in which the social relationships that existed in the club influenced an individual's ability to reach a desired outcome through their membership. This aspect was analysed at two different levels of power relationships: those that took place between individuals and those that took place between collectives that existed in the organization. The coach-athlete relationship was the key relationship at the level of social integration. Good coaching was desired by most athletes, and coaches sought an opportunity to see athletes

improve their level of performance. This relationship was found to be reciprocal inasmuch as coaches and athletes possessed the resources required by each other to meet their goals. The exchange of these resources was the princple means through which coaches and athletes achieved their desired outcomes. The amount of control an athlete had over this exchange depended on his or her ability to perform at a high level and his or her regular attendance at training sessions. Some athletes had more control over their activities as athletes. These same athletes also received more attention from coaches consequently, had more access to the resource of coaching than athletes who performed at a low level. This finding raises a question which asks: to what extent do coaches and top level athletes dominate the WCTFC? If coaches only seek out input from top level athletes when designing training programs, what sort of athletic experiences await lower level performers? Whitson (1984) noted that the growing emphasis on performance has for many "supplanted the less tangible criteria which were once the characteristics of satisfying sporting experiences: style and virtuosity, spontaniety, 'a good game'." What sort of tensions enter into the sport experience for the athlete who was drawn to sport because of these less tangible experiences and are soon faced by pressure to get serious and perform or retire and stop wasting the time of the coach? Can competitive sport be satisfying without a constant measuring of performance?

Members of the WCTFC acted collectively to obtain the resources needed to offset some of the costs of competing. While each athlete had an equal obligation to contribute to the club's fundraising activities the distribution of those funds was less than equal. The coordination of the activities related to the distribution of the funds was primarily the responsibility of one individual, the Technical Director. With few formalized rules to guide him, the Technical Director was able to structure the organization in a manner that was consistent with his own personal values and beliefs. This finding is consistent with other studies of power in amateur sport organizations (Slack, 1983; and Pitter, 1984) that have demonstrated that in such organizations, power appears to be centralized in the hands of a small number of individuals. Within the WCTFC this centralization was explained by the ability of the Technical Director to access resources essential to the operation of the club and

the centrality of his activities to its operation. Also important to the Technical Director's control of the activities in the club was the willingness of the club's membership to bestow power and influence upon him. Finally, it was also noted that the legitimacy of the performance principle was a significant factor related to the membership's tolerance of an unequal distribution of funds. Many members, including low level performers, believed that high level performers should have more access to the club's resources. Once again, an important consideration that emerges from the power relations that governed the coordination of activity in the WCTFC raises a question about domination. Athletes were required to engage in fundraising activities to a degree that went far beyond the resources they could expect to have access to or receive back. The club kept accumulating a portion of funds raised as a "safety net" for rainy days, making it very likely that many athletes would not receive benefits from the club in proportion to their efforts on the club's behalf. To an extent, athletes were dominated by the club's adminstrator's commitment to the institutionalization of the WCTFC. The high degree of informality in the WCTFC makes it difficult to offer any comments on this point.

As has been discovered in other organizations, control in the WCTFC was based on normative considerations related to a shared belief in the performance principle. It was also discovered that those with the ability to perform at a high level athletically were able to dominate lower level performers. If it can be shown that high level performers in the WCTFC came from higher socioeconomic backgrounds it could be argued that patterns of domination that exist in society at large also existed in the WCTFC. Gruneau's (1976(b)) study of the backgrounds of Canada Games athletes suggests that one would expect to discover such a relationship.

E. Values and Ideas in the WCTFC.

The last sub-problem of this study was concerned with the exposure to values and ideas that took place within the WCTFC. In chapter two it was suggested that investigating the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within an organization would provide an

understanding of the modality of norms. Norms were defined as positively sanctioned expected behaviour. An attempt was made to unearth these norms through an analysis of the taken-for-granted sanctioned behaviours that were associated with specific values and ideas. Giddens (1986: 30) suggested that "normative components of interaction center on the rights and obligations 'expected' of those participating in a range of interaction contexts". To a large extent, these aspects of normative behaviour were discussed above through references to the principles of performance and commitment that underpinned the design and execution of tasks, and hierarchy and control in the WCTFC. Both of those discussions indicated the WCTFC membership supported the idea that improved athletic performance was and should be the objective of every member of the club. This idea was never challenged. In addition, individuals valued proper coaching, a regular training regime, and dedication as the most effective means of improving one's performance. I would suggest that enough has been said about norms in this regard. The analyses put forward in the two previous sections illustrate some of the normative behaviour consistent with values that reflect a belief in the production of improved athletic performance. Further discussion of norms related to these predominant ideas would draw few new insights.

The analysis of values and ideas that was undertaken in this study focused on investigating the normative behaviour associated with a number of values and ideas that existed in the organization. Drawing from the research that has examined the impact of values and ideas on the structure of sport organizations (Cunningham 1986, and Pitter, Slack, and Cunningham, 1985), a preliminary list of three value areas that had been discovered to be significant to the development of provincial and national level amateur sport organizations was formulated. The list of value areas included: the role of government, organizational staff requirements, and the usage of scientific principles and apparatus in the design and execution of training activities. The results of this study indicated that none of these areas had received a lot of attention within the organization. Individuals had given some thought to organizational staff requirements, and the usage of scientific training principles and apparatus. No one had given any thought at all to the role of government in sport. As each

interview took place, it became increasingly evident that values and ideas associated with other aspects of sport and sport administration were more significant to this organization than those which were drawn from the literature. Taking this into consideration, an increasing amount of attention was focused on values and ideas about issues that emerged in the interviews, and less was placed on the issues that were outlined in the original interview schedule. The consequence of this action led to a situation where the data gathered were not rich enough to allow for a detailed analysis of the exchange of ideas that took place in the WCTFC per se, as was the original intent of this investigation. It was, however, possible to provide a general description of the values and ideas that members of the WCTFC held about the value areas set out in the original design of this study.

Consideration of the values and ideas that emerged from the interviews indicated that a shift in the values and ideas that were predominant in the WCTFC was occuring. The data indicated that the tension between competing values and ideas, and associated norms had been influencing the structuration of the organization over a period of time. While this was not an intended focus of this study, what was discovered in this regard is nonetheless important. It contributed to the study by adding a dimension of temporality to the consideration of the experience of membership within the organization. Giddens (1979, 1986) heavily emphasized the importance of temporality to social inquiry. Including findings, although unanticipated, that related to this aspect of social life was felt to be essential. The discussion that follows, will therefore be divided into two parts. The first section will focus on the values and ideas that were the initial focus of this investigation. The explanatory power of this discussion will be limited. The second section will focus on the relationship of values and ideas to the dynamics of the organization and its structuration over time.

Government, Staff, and Science

The focus on values and ideas that was proposed for this investigation drew its insight from recent research conducted by Cunningham (1986), and Pitter, Slack, and Cunningham (1985). These researchers reported that individuals involved with voluntary sport

organizations indicated that there had been a shift in a number of value areas associated with sport. These areas concerned the degree and kind of government involvement in sport, the staff requirements of amateur sport organizations, and the application of scientific principles to amateur sport. Arguments concerning the role of values and ideas in the structuring of organizations put forward by Greenwood and Hinings (1986), Cunningham (1986) and Pitter et. al. (1985) suggested that changes in the structure of provincial level amateur sport organizations were perhaps tied to a shift in the predominant value orientations they held towards these three areas. As will be made clear below, the findings of this study indicated that the values and ideas WCTFC members had about these areas where not significant to the structuring of this organization.

Firstly, in considering values about the role of government involvement in sport, the data indicated that few of the interviewees were aware of the degree or kind of involvement that various levels of government had in sport. Most individuals, when asked if they were familiar with the government's role in sport responded "no". Most others gave responses that focused on the provincial lotteries, indicating they knew that the government was channelling the monies gained from these into amateur sport. However, they did not know how the money was being distributed or what sort of sport programs the government was supporting.

Taking into consideration that the WCTFC had very few contacts with government agencies, this finding is not surprising. The majority of government programs that deal with sport are administered through sport organizations that operate at the same level of jurisdiction as the government administering the funds. It was perhaps somewhat mistaken to extrapolate from research which has focused on sport organizations that deal directly with the government to an organization that does not.

The responses to questions dealing with the second area of concern, that of staff requirements, were more interesting and involved than those given about government. The literature which has focused on the characteristics of the volunteer worker (Beamish, 1978, 1985; Hollands and Gruneau 1979; and Slack, 1983), has suggested there has been a growing desire to recruit people with outside professional or technical qualifications into amateur sport

organizations and establish full-time paid positions to deal with many organizational tasks. Interviewees were asked to discuss their feelings about the value of employing salaried individuals to take on administrative or coaching positions with the WCTFC. While many respondents admitted they had not given much thought to the idea of paying individuals for their efforts on the club's behalf, the overwhelming majority felt that the club could benefit from hiring a full-time person to take care of administrative duties. There was a smaller concensus in favor of paid coaching staff. The majority of athletes were quick to emphasize the value of the coach to their aspirations and agreed that coaches should receive more monetary compensation beyond the $125 per month honorarium they were receiving at that time. A small minority, felt that coaches didn't want to be paid for what they did. The responses of the athletes did not support the feelings of the coaches interviewed. Coaches were split. It was clear one coach wished to someday acquire a full-time paid position as a coach. The other coaches were somewhat ambivalent. The comments of one of these coaches expressed the mixed feelings on this issue:

> The honorarium I get from our club is basically, gas money, for driving to and from the track. It doesn't in any way reflect the amount of time and effort that I've put into the program. As Frank Dick (a noted coach from Britain) said, the guy on one side of me gardens, he makes fantastic roses. The guy on the otherside of me has got a swimming pool, and he swims all day long. I coach track. No one is telling me I have to coach track. I'm just saying I am making the decision to coach track because that's what I like to do. I don't like to raise roses. I don't like to swim. I like to coach track. What I do with my time from five until seven o'clock is my time. If I wanted to raise roses or garden that's what I would do.
>
> Robert: It's not just from five to seven.
>
> You're right from the coaching aspect. From the total aspect of coaching you're right, but not from the athlete contact aspect. It's about thirty hours (per week). I would like to see coaches in our club earn in the neighbourhood of $500.00 a month for coaching.

The reason athletes gave to support the value of hiring coaches and administrators on a full or part-time basis drew from a belief that as paid employees they would be more responsible and accountable to the WCTFC. They also believed that salaried individuals would be able to accomplish more through the greater amount of time they would be able to devote to their tasks. One athlete explained his feelings this way:

> I would have to say . . . that there has to be . . . they have to have professional

> staff to better the club. People who obviously know what they are doing as far as coaching goes and as far as the Board and, therefore they are going to have to pay those people. . . .
>
> I agree they should be paid more. . . . it is something that is time consuming. However much people want to say you do it out of fun, it's still something you are committed to. . . . You have to show up at the track at such and such a time. There are certain commitments you have to make; commitments to certain athletes. I think therefore, obviously the club should make more provisions to pay the coaches quite a bit more, not just a little bit more. . .

The above observations indicate that for the most part most individuals in the WCTFC believed that the organization could benefit from obtaining some paid staff. This finding tends to support the findings of others researchers (cf. Kidd, 1979; and Slack, 1983) who have suggested that nowadays volunteer sport organizations feel a need to hire staff to execute many of the tasks carried out by these organizations. While the members of WCTFC indicated that they were all in favor of paying coaches and administrators, it should also be noted that no action had been taken or even considered in this regard. This value was posted in this organization but had not yet become operative. Consequently, obtaining paid personnel was not yet a priority.

The last issue of concern was that of the impact of values and ideas related to the usage of scientific principles on the structuring of the WCTFC. Most coaches and athletes indicated that the design of the training programs was based on scientific principles developed in the disciplines of biomechanics, physiology, and exercise physiology. In the study, questions concerning the impact of science focused on how individuals felt about the use of scientific training aparatuses such as treadmills, muscle stimulators, heart rate monitors, etc. in their training regime.

Few athletes had given much thought to the value of integrating such devices into their training regimes. The responses indicated a degree of indecision concerning them. The majority of athletes referred to these devices as "gimmicks" which, even if they were of some value, in most cases could not do anything for them that they were not able to do for themselves just as effectively and efficiently. Athletes also indicated that these "gimmicks" were more valuable to the very best in the world than they were to lower level performers like themselves.

The responses of coaches to this question were similar to those of the athletes. Coaches were not entirely certain about the value of such training apparatuses. One coach was actively attempting to acquire a device that could analyze the lactate levels of his athletes. He had the support of the WCTFC inasmuch as the Board agreed to help pay for some of the cost of this device if the provincial government was also prepared to contribute. Nonethess, this coach like everyone else, was somewhat sceptical about the value of this when compared to simpler methods he had been using. He had the following to say:

> I consider some kind of heart rate monitor to be essential. I consider lactate analysis to be essential . . . after today's (training) session it would have been my idea to take lactates three minutes after the session and . . . if they hadn't gone up to in excess of 12 or 15 millimoles of lactate per millilitre of blood then I would have known that the work out didn't achieve its effect. I could have . . . sent them out again for another repetition or as many repetitions as I need to achieve the training effect from the work out. . . I can only predict or guess that I achieved what I wanted at today's session . . . for some of the athletes, like Lisa [*the fastest runner in this coach's group*]. I don't think I got the training effect that I wanted. It was pretty obvious in our discussion[between this coach and his athletes] that maybe I didn't need the equipment to tell me, but, it would have been nice to know how close I came to achieving what I wanted to achieve. . . . for the better athletes I consider it to be essential. But for the bulk of them not really. . . It's not essential but it is something that could go a long way in helping them to develop what's needed to be the best in the world.

Within the WCTFC there was tendency to favor the usage of two devices to facilitate the training programs. These devices were heart rate monitors and lactate analyzers. Action had been taken to secure one of these devices. The action had been unsuccessful. No one believed that these devices were crucial resources. Consequently, at this point in time values and ideas that favored the usage of scientific training apparatuses did not have a significant impact on the structuring of the WCTFC.

Values and ideas concerning government, staff requirements, and science did not, as other reasearch has indicated, seem to have a significant effect on the structuration of the organization. These areas were not of much concern to individuals in the organization. The research which has supported the impact of these areas on sport organizations has been primarily concerned with provincial and national sport-governing bodies which have considerably more contact with government agencies than smaller organizations like the WCTFC. The significance of the impact of new ideas concerning staff requirements, and the

usage of scientific training principles and apparatuses, has been traced by Kidd (1981) and others to initiatives implemented by federal and provincial governments. In considering the fact that WCTFC has no direct interaction with either level of government, it is not surprising to discover that the impact these initiatives have not become significant at their level.

Values and Ideas: Tensions and Change in the WCTFC

The comments presented so far represent only a small part of the data related to the analysis of values and ideas in the WCTFC. Interviewees were also asked to discuss what they personally felt were the key issues in the club and to give their opinions about these issues, problems and possible solutions. From these discussions it became evident that the organization's membership had been changing over the past three years and that these changes had introduced new values, ideas, and associated norms into the organization. The new values and ideas created a number of tensions concerning the nature and purpose of the organization and how it should be structured.

Competing values and ideas about the appropriate program focus of the WCTFC appeared to have an impact on its structuring. This was true especially with regard to a number of rule changes that were put into place just as this study was being completed. When one examines the history of the WCTFC it becomes apparent that the values and ideas, and normative behaviour had been undergoing a transformation. Commitment, dedication, competition, and performance are words which describe the dominant values and ideas that underlied normative behaviour within the WCTFC. The previous discussions indicate the manner in which these four concepts emerged time and time again in the discussion concerning activities that took place in the club. They emerged clearly with regards to the attitudes of individuals towards their involvement in the sport. They also figured into individual descriptions of how things should be organized in the club. The interviews indicated that this approach to track and field represented a new orientation as far as the focus of the WCTFC was concerned. This new orientation was brought to the club through a large influx of new members. In order to understand the impact of these new values and ideas one must

first become familiar with some of the organization's history.

When referring back to the history of the club a number of individuals noted that the WCTFC was orginally established as a family club. Entire families were encouraged to become members. The idea that the club should promote and embody the same sort of unity that existed in family life was promoted. Few of the people interviewed had experience with the early days of the club. However, it was apparent that a few key decision makers on the Board of Directors did have some ties to the idea that the WCTFC was a family club. Some of the people interviewed referred to the desire of some Board Members to maintain the family club image. Only one person I spoke with actually expressed a desire, and was simultaneously making an effort, to preserve these values and ideas in the club. In our discussion, Cindy noted how difficult it was these days to maintain and promote these values and ideas because of the club's size. Here are some excerpts from our conversation on this topic:

> We've just had a recent discussion on that (maintaining the family club cohesiveness). We're really looking into that right now, how we can resolve it. The reason being that when you have five coaches that's bound to happen, especially training in two different facilities right now. That separates your groups somewhat. Therefore, we're working on that right now. We want to resolve it. We can still make it be what it was, but it's going to take a little bit of groundwork now to realize how are we going to do it. Are we going to throw in an extra social function this year? I suggested that even all the five coaches get together and take all these five groups out to a pizza place, so that these athletes don't feel the distance and feel separated from one another. It has always been our policy to hold it as a family group, and when you get as big as we are right now, that is a little more difficult, but we're going to work at it. It's going to be harder. . . .
>
> We want to remain as a family club. We have to review carefully and see what we can do so that we don't see a separation so we remain one whole rather than five different groups. . . . I think that if you look at it in a positive way you will have it happen.

While Cindy seemed to key on size as a major factor contributing to the difficulty of promoting and maintaining a "family" outlook within the club, others noted that an increase in the average age of club members was perhaps more of a contributing factor to the demise of the old values and ideas that were predominant within the club. Newer members referred to the early WCTFC as a kid's club or developmental club with a limited focus on elite athletes or high performance. Sid took the blame for "screwing things up". He had this to say about the changing nature of the values held by the club's members:

> To give you a little bit more preamble about the WCTFC, it was started in 1972 or

> '73. It was primarily a developmental club and had remained that way for a long period of time. I'm the one that screwed up the club because up until the point when I joined the club they only had about two senior athletes. . . . When I joined the club, they had a membership of about forty. . . . this. . . (is) only the fourth year that I've been involved, the organization has more than doubled in that period of time. They're still experiencing a lot of growing pains because they have a lot of small club philosophies and ideas.
>
> They didn't have the structure because they only had one coach or two coaches, and they always had a head coach. They changed their philosophy . . .they didn't want a head coach. They didn't have any structure. With one coach . . . you don't need coach's guidelines because that coach presumably knows how to conduct them (a trip with athletes). So you go from no coach's guidelines to thirteen coach's guidelines to twenty-two and probably eventually to.... As coaches jack the system around more, if we spend as much time trying to look for loopholes to just doing a good job, we wouldn't need any guidelines at all, but people don't have the same sense of responsibility. . . . going from one to five coaches in a period of two years has had a tremendous impact on the organization.
>
> It's a more rounded club. It's a club with all the event groups and all the age classes.

The excerpts from our discussion not only indicate the changes that have taken place within the club's membership, but also very recent changes that have involved the structure of the organization. These changes, as Sid discussed them, can be traced to two elements. The first is the influx of a large number of athletes and coaches. The second element has to do with the values and ideas held by these new coaches and athletes. The second element is perhaps the largest source of change and some tension that was found to exist within the WCTFC. The characteristics of this new wave of members were quite different to that of the old. These new athletes and coaches did not have the family orientation of the younger athletes, because they were older. Many of them had left home and established their independence from their parents. Similarly, the majority of the new coaches are quite young and if they did not have any children at all they had very young children who were only in their infancy. The characteristics of these individuals, one could argue, directly opposed the efforts of those within the club to maintain a family focus. The senior athletes and the young coaches demonstrated, through their actions, a desire to not be part of that philosophy. Cindy's comments above indicated this.

As a means of facilitating the development of the "family" club atmosphere the WCTFC had in place since its formation a rule that stipulates that upon joining, both parents of each athlete automatically become members with full voting privileges and the right to

compete for positions on the club's Board of Directors. The policy seemed to encourage parents to become involved in the activities of the club as a means of supporting their children's involvement in track and field. However, as Cindy herself pointed out, there was an increasing problem in getting the parents involved, especially the parents of the older athletes who were in their late teens to mid-twenties. She believed that to overcome this difficulty she would have to do some hard work. Cindy had this to say:

> . . . I think we have to restructure, and reorganize and re-educate parents. But, in order to be able to do this you must get them out to these general meetings. But what parents are doing? I think it's too easy for everyone. There is decline in the economy right now. Maybe that will awaken a lot of people. I often think it takes a recession to do this. To show them that life is not just a bowl of cherries. It is not just to go out there and socialize.

Whether or not Cindy will be able to re-educate the parents of the club members remains to be seen. Her statement however captures the sense of many of the questions that are raised or emerge from this discussion on values and ideas. Research on organizations (Hinings, and Greenwood 1986; Miller and Friesen, 1980(a)&(b); Miles and Snow, 1978) has indicated that the characteristics of the rules and regulations, or structural arrangements if you prefer, often reflect the meanings, values and ideas held by organizational members. The truth of these findings is further supported by what has been discovered in this study. Intially, the founders of the WCTFC embodied within the organization ideas which reflected ideas of family unity and the importance of athletic involvement to a child's development. These very notions seemed to motivate their interest in forming WCTFC in the first place. More recently, other individuals have come to the club motivated by different values which stress the importance of competition, commitment and performance in track and field and de-emphasize the value of participating for participation's sake.

As the data collection for this study was nearing completion, the Board of Directors of the WCTFC took action to change the formal rules which governed accumulation and distribution of resources. As noted above, a new rule concerning this was in place. That rule required everyone to work at five bingos or pay a fine. The rule was changed. The rationale for the change seemed to be based on a number of considerations pertinent to this discussion. Firstly, with the decline of the family image of the club came an increase in the number of

athletes that were missing bingos. This had not been a problem in the past as most parents shared a taken for grant assumption that it was their obligation to fill in for their children at bingos if their children could not attend. The attendance of parents at bingos in the presence and the absence of their children was normative and needed little regulation. Parents of the older athletes that now comprised the majority of the club were not willing to be replacements for their children at bingos. In addition to this, Board members were also concerned that funding for competition should be distributed in proportion to an athlete's contribution to fundraising, or resource accumulation. The new rule for bingos was described by one interviewee as follows:

> We've changed that this year so that you have to establish these travel credits. You work a bingo, you get a $50.00 travel credit. What does the travel credit do? It entitles you to travel expenses to and from the meet. If you don't have enought travel credits built up to go to a competition, then you have to pay the difference between the travel expenses and the travel credit. When you do build your travel credits back up, you get your money back.
>
> Robert: But you can't carry them over?
>
> Sid: You can't carry them over, but you can make a total of $850.00. . . . so if you want to travel more you just do more bingos. So now there is a totally different attitude in the club. . . . The athlete comes up to me and says I want to go to Victoria for the world junior cross-country trials. So I say you have worked one Bingo the next bingo will give you $100 credit but if you bring your dad out you get a hundred and fifty the airfare is going to cost $159, maybe we can get you down there for $150 you've got it made. And so now the kid is all excited about working the bingo and getting his dad out.

While this analysis of values and ideas must come to an end, the exchange of values and ideas in the WCTFC will continue to have an impact on its future structuring. The data gathered in this study indicated that two competing sets of values and ideas about the purpose of the WCTFC and track and field involvement had been significant to the club's development. A new view of track and field and of the WCTFC's role in track and field had come to dominate the social relationships that existed in the WCTFC. It appeared that this view was not consistent with the values upon which the founding of the organization was based. A few individuals were attempting to preserve these values and the associated normative behaviours. New values and ideas did not support the old normative order of family cohesion that helped to ensure certain obligations to the WCTFC, such as filling in at

bingo for your child, were not only felt but were also met. As a result of these changes and tensions, new rules and resources were becoming significant to the social relationships within the WCTFC as the experience of organizational membership in the association took on new characteristics.

Summary

The significance of a number of values and ideas to the structuring of the WCTFC was investigated. It was discovered that values about government involvement in sport, the usage of paid staff, and the usage of scientific apparatus, were not substantial. It was discovered that values about the program focus of the WCTFC did have an impact on the structure of the organization. In particular, competing values about a "family" and developmental orientation towards sport, and a high performance orientation were significant. The decline of the unity and integration associated with the family focus appeared to be linked to a rapid increase in the club's size and the influx of individuals with a strong orientation towards high performance. Kidd (1979) made some comments about the resources necessary for high peformance sport which indicate some pressures that may be significant to explaining the shift in the structure of the WCTFC. He wrote:

> The resources necessary for high performance sport are much greater today. Facilities have become more specialized and expensive; the training required makes it all but impossible for athletes and coaches to study on a full-time basis . . . . These changes have taken place within the context of the elaboration of the capitalist market and the resulting specialization and division of labour. As more goods and services enter into commodity production, for example, people rely less upon family, friends and neighbours, and the sense of community which encourages people to act as volunteers is dissapated. At the same time specialization increases demands on coaches and officials. In almost every sport, they are now seeking honoria or salaries for what they formaly contributed with question. These factors have made it difficult for individuals and local institutions to to provide the necessary infrastructure and resources (Kidd 1979: 51).

The description given by Kidd captures much of the dynamics of the WCTFC. It's membership was beginning to consider the value of salaried employees to its operation and it was also experiencing a decline in the willingness of families to become involved in the activities needed to sustain the club's existence. Questions regarding the compatability of a high performance and developmental focus in one single organization was also being

questioned. Many individuals believed there was not room for both and that the developmental focus belonged somewhere else.

Chapter V

Concluding Remarks

A. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the experience of being involved with a sport organization. The organization which was selected for this study was the West City Track and Field Club located in the city of Edmonton. Three sub-problem areas were identified as the specific focus for this inquiry. These sub-problems were:

1. To investigate the effects of the design and execution of tasks within the organization on the experience of being involved with sport.
2. To investigate the effects of hierarchy and control within the organization on the experience of being involved with sport.
3. To investigate the exposure to values and ideas that takes place within the organization.

The data for this study were collected using three research techniques. First, 15 focused interviews were conducted with present members of the organization. All of the interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Second, organizational documents were collected, as a means of obtaining additional information about the organization. Third, further information was obtained through direct observation of various activities undertaken by the members of the organization.

A conceptual framework was used to interpret the findings of this study. This framework was provided by a synthesis of literature from social and organizational theory. The theory of structuration developed by Giddens (1979, 1986) served as the primary reference point which informed the analysis of the three sub-problem areas. In drawing from Giddens' theory of structuration it was felt that the experience of organizational membership and associated sub-problem areas could be understood set against the modalities of structuration; interpretive schemes, facility, and norms. Each sub-problem area was seen to relate to a single corresponding level of modality and was analyzed according to the modality it most closely represented. Interpretive schemes were analyzed through an examination of the

design and execution of tasks in the organization. Facility was linked to the analysis of hierarchy and control. Norms were discussed in conjuction with the exposure to values and ideas that took place in the WCTFC.

B. Summary

This first sub-problem with which this study was concerned was the investigation of the effects of the design and execution of tasks within a sport organization, on individuals' experience of being involved with sport. This sub-problem was seen to address the modality of interpretive schemes outlined by Giddens. The analysis of the design and execution of tasks was aimed at providing some insight into the background assumptions, meanings, and sense making, that informed the WCTFC members' understanding of what they did.

The findings of this analysis indicated that the tasks which were undertaken fell into three areas; those undertaken by athletes, those undertaken by coaches, and those undertaken by administrators. The key assumption that was seen to underly the design and execution of tasks in the WCTFC was a belief that the membership of the club was committed to the production of high calibre performance. This was indicated by the great emphasis that was placed on tasks that were directly related to the training and competitive activities of the athlete members. The design and execution of the task of training and competing were found to exhibit a degree of specialization, routinization, and close supervision characteristic of work organizations.

Investigating the effects of established systems of heirarchy and control on organizational membership was the second sub-problem area of concern to this study. This sub-problem was seen to address the modality of facility which Giddens argued mediated between power and domination. This analysis was used as a means of understanding the way in which social relationships that existed in the WCTFC influenced an individual's ability to reach desired outcomes through his or her membership. Two levels of analysis were undertaken in the examination of this sub-problem area. The first level, being that of social integration, explored the relationship between coaches and athletes. The second level, being

that of system integration, examined relationships between groups in the organization.

The hierarchy and control in the relationships between athletes and coaches tended to favor coaches. Coaches, because of their perceived knowledgeability about what is needed to improve athletic performance, exerted a large amount of control over the type of training activities athletes would have to undertake. Nonetheless, some athletes were able to exert a degree of control over the design of their programs. These individuals were, characteristically, the top level performers in each training group. Coaches tended to seek out input regarding the design of training activities from these athletes. The coaches would then in turn incorporate some of this knowledge into the design of the athlete's training program. Lower level performers were rarely, if ever, approached by coaches for input.

At the level of system integration it was discovered that it was not possible to clearly identify a formal hierarchy of authority in the WCTFC. The analysis demonstrated that within the WCTFC power, was centralized into the hands of a single individual who occupied the position of Technical Director on the Board of Directors of the WCTFC. This individual had a great deal of control over the structure of the organization. This capability was traced to the lack of formal rules and regulations that bound the members of the WCTFC. Also, significant in this regard was the Technical Director's ability to access resources that were essential to the operation of the club. Furthermore, the membership of the organization demonstrated a willingness to bestow power and influence on this individual. The discussion of hierarchy and control, also revealed that some of the resources of the WCTFC were distributed unequally. This finding was explained as an indication of the legitimacy of performance level as a criteria for resource allocation.

The final sub-problem area that was analyzed in this study dealt with the exposure to values and ideas that took place in the organization. This sub-problem area was seen to address the understanding of the modality of norms outlined by Giddens. Norms were defined as positively sanctioned or expected behavior. The exposure to values and ideas was analyzed in terms of the impact that the normative behavior associated with particular values and ideas had on the structure of the organization. The design of the study called for an analysis of

values and ideas and associated norms that focused on the values and ideas concerning three areas: the role of government in sport, the staff requirements of the organization and the usage of scientific principles and training apparatuses in the design and execution of training programs. It was discovered that values and ideas about these areas and any associated norms, had little impact on the structure of the WCTFC. Values and ideas that did have an impact on the organization were concerned mostly with what the program focus of the organization should be. Within the WCTFC, individuals who attempted to promote values and ideas, and normative behavior that were aimed at sustaining a family and developmental orientation within the club, stood against individuals who pushed a high performance orientation in the club.

C. Some Concluding Remarks

This investigation into the experience of membership in a sport organization began with a discourse which focused on the fundamental freedom that people associate with sport. It examined some of the limits and possibilities that confront individuals who seek to experience a sense of mastery and power through their sport experiences. This discourse addressed a number of questions, the most important ones were those raised by Gruneau (1983). Gruneau asked if people must always voluntarily undertake or implement structural conditions which reproduce capitalist relations and which constrain human possibilities in very significant ways. This study was developed as a response to Gruneau's question. It was conducted with the intent of revealing some of the influences that shape sport organizations and illustrating the way these structures have effected certain limits and possibilities for people who participate in sport. A synthesis of the work of Giddens (1979 and 1986) and Salaman (1979) provided the framework and the sub-problems that were investigated in this study. The work of Giddens seemed especially relevant to this investigation. Through the theory of structuration, Giddens set a out means of understanding social relationships which was felt to overcome many of the problems with traditional conceptions of structure and agency, which was also useful as an analytic tool. To conclude I will review the findings of

this investigation in light of some of the questions that were raised at the very outset.

To begin, let me reconsider the questions raised by Gruneau (1983) referred to at the conclusion of the initial introduction to this investigation. Firstly, Gruneau asked if the structures that are created to accomplish the search for mastery and power through sport do in some way alter our goals and carry with them a number of consequences for freedom, viewed in the broadest terms? The discussion of the design and execution of the task of being an athlete raised points that are relevant to this question. It was noted there that the responses of athletes and coaches indicated that some of their attraction to sport could be linked to a desire to experience sport as a means of experiencing a sense of self mastery and power over one's self. However, it was found that the structure of the WCTFC impinged on the athlete's freedom to seek out this experience in a manner of their own choosing. Training sessions were structured to facilitate the production of high level performance and as such athletes were pressured to strive to meet certain standards of athletic performance. Many athletes, when speaking about the rationale that led them to focus on track and field instead of another sport, indicated that their own potential to reach a high level of performance and be able to feel directly responsible for that performance, were their primary considerations. However, in the cases of many athletes who had been involved with this sport for a long time and had not been able to attain a high level of performance (i.e., become national team members), a tension seemed to exist. They expressed some discomfort with the constraints and pressures they confronted when executing training programs that were designed purely to increase performance. Specifically, they were uncomfortable with the fact that they were pressured to measure their success and subsequent satisfaction in terms purely related to performance, placing little or no significance on the quality of the expressiveness of their experience. In this regard Whitson (1984: 70) has also noted, "a variety of quantitative measures of productivity have supplanted for many, less tangible criteria which were once the characteristics of satisfying sporting experiences: style and virtuosity, spontaneity, 'a good game'. . . in this atmosphere the 'experiential dimensions' of sport are eroded or lost entirely." These observations indicate that structures which have been developed to make it

possible to realize the sense of mastery and power described by Gruneau, do to some extent alter goals.

The second question raised by Gruneau's work, described at the outset of this investigation, asked if we can say that opportunities to create rules, to define dominant meanings of sport, and to compete and succeed within different definitions have been universally accessible? Within the WCTFC this did not appear to be the case. Power over the formulation of rules and the allocation of resources was the privilege of a single individual who appeared to favor one definition of sport (sport for the production of performance). However, some qualifications must accompany this conclusion. These qualifications raise further questions. The WCTFC had rules in place that enabled individuals to play a role in the organization that would allow them to formulate the definitions of sport that would be accessible to the organization's membership. That is to say, the rules permitted all members to compete for the positions which enabled one to encourage alternative definitions of sport. However, few people took advantage of this. The findings of this study suggest the decision of the majority not to get involved in encouraging and promoting alternatives, relates to activities that take place outside of the club and to other considerations. Why did the athlete members of the WCTFC choose not to assert themselves to any degree nor create opportunities within the WCTFC for individuals to pursue alternative definitions of sport? The answer to this question is not clear from the observations of this study. In part the answer may be related to the fact that the members of the WCTFC do not see the possibility for alternative definitions to coexist in the club. Many individuals reported that it was impossible for recreational and high performance sport to exist in the same single sport organization.

Thirdly, by referrence to Gruneau it was asked, if sports, structured in different ways, have ever embodied representations of the allocative and regulative rules implicated in the domination of certain groups in this society? The findings of this study indicated that high level performers tended to have more control over allocative and regulative rules in the WCTFC. The extent to which this domination has been implicated in the domination of

certain groups in the larger society depends on whether or not it can be demonstrated that these high level performers as a group within the WCTFC can be linked to those that dominate society at large. The data collected for this study did not provide any conclusive information that could be used to make inferences about the extent to which individuals from a higher socioeconomic status and individuals of the male gender tended to dominate the activities within the club as class theorists and feminists argue they do in society at large. However, the observations made in this study indicated that access to resources that existed outside the WCTFC were important to success inside the WCTFC. One such resource seemed to be access to university education. Gruneau (1976) noted that education crystalized differences in the socioeconomic characteristics of the participants in the Canada Summer Games. Inasmuch as the participants in the Canada Games, who are by definition high level peformers, share a high level of education with their counterparts in the WCTFC, it is reasonable to anticipate that the socioeconomic characteristics of the high performers in the WCTFC would be similar to those of Canada Games athletes. Thus, the evidence obtained in this study indirectly suggests that the patterns of domination that exist in the WCTFC reflect those that exist outside. The extent of male domination per se was not considered in this study. The most powerful figure in the organization was male, however, this fact by itself, without any knowledge of the way in which males and females exercised power and control over each other per se, does not support or deny the existence of male domination.

Finally, I would like to turn to the question of the limits and possibilities that faced the members of the WCTFC. Certainly, as an organization, the WCTFC made it possible for some athletes to achieve high levels of athletic performance and to travel and compete in various locations. In doing so, sport was defined in a way that limited the quality of sport experience. This made it difficult for some individuals to enjoy sport participation if they did not express or share the same commitment to the production of high level performance. Furthermore, many individuals who did aspire to achieve high level performance faced a double edged sword. On one side, was the cutting edge of social constraints which limited the amount of time that could be spent in a group training situation. On the other side was the

sharply cutting beliefs that a group-training situation was important to performance and that performance should be the basis of resource allocation. In the WCTFC, failure to participate in that situation and failure to perform at high levels meant that an athlete, as a member of the WCTFC, would receive little, if any, instruction through coaching that might contribute to the quality of his or her sporting experience.

D. Postscript: Comments about this Research

In this thesis I have presented an investigation of the experience of membership in an amateur sport organization. This project and its design were motivated largely by the critical approach to the study of social organization put forward by Giddens (1979, 1986). In attempting to utilize the insights offered by this author some of the short comings which underlie the approach emerged.

The most important difficulty with the theory of structration is its complexity. An attempt was made to summarize this theory and to use some of its basic ideas in the analysis of the sub-problem areas which were the focus of this study. However the complexity of Gidden's theorizing made it very difficult to operationalize and empirically test. That is to say, it is impossible, using the results of this study, to comment on the validity of the theory of structuration. Nonetheless, the theory of structration did provide a basis for the methodology of this study that made it possible to unearth some insights into the experience of membership in a sport organization, such as the dialectic of control in the athlete-coach relationships in the WCTFC, and the tension between the developmental and high performance emphasis that individuals were trying to embody in the organization. It also, through its conceptualization of a number of terms including structure, system, power and control, reduced some of the confusion that often hinders social analysis. In chapter two I argued strongly against the traditional usage of these terms. Yet later in the study I did call upon some of the traditional literature on orgaizations to support and explain some of the observations made in this study. It was not the intent of my critique of traditional organization theory to suggest that it had not made any useful contribution to the

understanding of organization. The point I was trying to stress was that its focus is limiting. For example, in the discussion on power, the work of Henry Mintzberg was used to explain some of the findings of this study at the level of system integration. However, Mintzberg did not have much to say about relationships at the level of social integration and the interdependence between individuals or groups within an organization. It was through the theory of structuration that the importance of this level of analysis became evident.

The theory of structuration has little to say about the social relationships that exist in social organizations per se. It is not a theory through which one can predict or forcast the outcome of a specific set of social relationships. Neither is it a theory from which one may develop typologies or any sort of definitive taxonomy of social systems or social development. It does however, have much to say concerning what the important features of social relationships are and how these features can be utilized to uncover and explain the relationships that do exist in a social system. As Gidden's himself admits, the development of this approach to social analysis is far from complete. The most significant gap is a clear means of applying it empirically. This study represents one attempt at filling that gap. More research of this nature must be undertaken in this regard to expand the possibilities of understanding social organization and to reduce the limitations of the theory of structuration.

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Appendix A

West City Track and Field Club Policies

COACHES

1. All coaches have equal status - i.e. no Head Coach.
2. Coaches are responsible for ordering uniforms for athletes through the Uniform and Equipment Co-ordinator.
3. Coaches are responsible for submitting entries for meets to the meet chairman and for providing duplicate entry forms to the Technical Director two weeks in advance of meet date.
4. Two weeks before a meet coaches, must advise the Technical Director of transportation, lodging and entry fee requirements. For out-of-province meets a minimum of four weeks is required.
5. The Technical Director and the coaches must meet monthly to maintain an open line of communication. Coaches must obtain approval for athlete participation in out-of-town meets a minimum of one month in advance from the executive.
6. Standards must be met before athletes will be considered for travel to out-of-province meets. Performance standards will be set by the respective coaches. Attendance standards are as follows: Athletes must attend Tuesday's work out (or other day designated by the coach) as this is preceded by an informational meeting attended by coaches and/or the Technical Director. In addition, coaches may demand other nights for mandatory attendance, as long as this is at least two additional nights of training under the supervision of the coaches.
7. Coaches must assume full responsibility for late entries, both financial and with regard to entry registration.
8. Coaches are responsible for collecting and turning in membership and membership fees to the treasurer as soon as possible (Sic).
9. Coaches are responsible for submitting all bills and receipts for expenses incurred at meets to the Technical Director immediately following the meet.
10. Coaches must submit in writing a proposed budget for the upcoming season by October 15 of each year.
11. Coaches shall be responsible for the maintenance of all equipment owned by the club. All coaches and athletes shall have access to all equipment.
12. Coaches and/or chaperones shall assume responsibility for the conduct of athletes while at training sessions and competitions.

ATHLETES

1. Athletes and family members must participate in designated fundraising activities and all meets that generate revenue. Those who do not provide assistance at bingos will have the alternative of paying a yearly surcharge of $375 per athlete.
2. All athletes must try to maintiain a high level of training and achievement.
3. All athletes are expected to conduct themselves in a sportsmanlike manner (Sic).
4. Athletes are required to post a $25 performance bond and sign a waiver acknowledging their responsibility to offset financial cost incurred by the Club when an athlete scratches from a meet that he/she is registered for, for other than certified medical reasons (sic).
5. Additional costs incurred by an athlete during and out-of-town meet (e.g. telephone calls) will not be paid for by the club.
6. An athlete's participation in a single meet will be limited to a maximum of four events, excluding relays.

GENERAL

7. The parents are expected to support the activities and goals of the Club and the participation of all athletes, i.e. at social functions, meets, club, and other fund-raising activities.
8. The club will recognize all athletes who have achieved a high level of achievement for each age class of the year.
9. The opportunity to appeal to the Executive Committee will be provided to all members who so request it.